Sir *WALTER RAWLEIGHS*

JUDICIOUS

AND

Select Essayes

AND

OBSERVATIONS

UPON

The first Invention of Shipping.
Invasive War.
The Navy Royal and Sea-Service.

WITH HIS

Apologie for his voyage to Guiana.

Virtus recludens immeritis mori
Cælum, negatâ tentat iter viâ. Hor.

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To the Reader.

IT is apparent that nothing do's more Eternize men upon Earth, then their Writings. The *Statues* of the *Romane* Emperours time has moulderd to ashes, *quandoquidem data sunt ipsis quoque fata Sepulchris*; and Tombes themselves the Fates obey. But *Cæsars Commentaries*, the Dictates of *Marcus Aurelius*, the Workes and glories of those Men and Ages we Juven.

ſee perpetuated to all poſterity. It is truly ſaid, that *Bookes* ſhew in a little time what *Experience* teacheth not but with the expence of many yeares; and how miſerable had we been, had not the induſtrious Pens of ſeverall Authors (famous in their times) buoyd up and left us Traces to follow them in the paths of Vertue. In every Generation there wanted not ſome, the flame of whoſe Torch is yet unextinguiſhed: and I may with modeſty appeale, whether the *Century* of yeares in which this worthy *Author* lived, may not equall (I would have ſaid tranſcended) ſome Ages that wanted ſuch a Perſon

Perſon to tranſmit it to Poſterity as renowned *Raleigh* was. It cannot be accounted either arrogancy or oſtentation in *Auguſtus Cæſar* who dying, deſired of his friends that ſtood about his Bed, That when he expired they would give him a *Plaudite*, as if he were conſcient to himſelfe he had plaid his part well upon the Stage. Nor will it offend any I am ſure to ſay, That this moſt worthy *Herve* truly deſerved the *Plaudites* and *Encomiums* of the *Amphitheaters* of the whole Univerſe. Twas well obſerved by him that writ the lives of ſo many Noble *Greekes* and *Romans*, *They are wiſe that in* Plutar

Tragicall

Tragicall Events doe carry an invincible heart, reaſonably obeying Neceſſity and a more high Providence then that of Man. And aſwell by another, *The greatneſſe of the mind never ſheweth it ſelf more cleerly then amongſt the wounds of Fortune.* How fitly appropriate theſe ſayings are to him, let them judge that knew his actions. But I come not here to give a Character of our Author; that were but to hold a Candle in the Sun, or by drawing ſhadows to hinder the cleare beauty of the Picture. Reader, thou haſt enough of him in his *Hiſtory* of the *World*, which ſpeaks him to *Fame*; only thou mayſt herein truly lament, That

Fortune

Fortune was ſo bitter to him and us to deprive us of that happineſſe in ſnatching him hence before his perfecting that glorious worke: However it may prompt thee to value at a higher rate this his *Poſthume Production*. Now it is not unlikely, that Cuſtome expects ſomething ſhould be ſaid in Commendation of theſe following Diſcourſes, that would wrong rather then adde to their worth: No, *Raleighs* very Name is Proclamation enough for the *Stationers* advantage who, prays thee to believe this to be (what the Worke it ſelfe will aſſure thee) the legitimate iſſue of ſo excellent a Father. But to keepe

thee

thee longer from the thing it ſelf, were by deteyning thee in the Porch to envy thee the delight of the Fabrick.

A Discourse of the invention of Ships, Anchors, Compasse, &c. The first Naturall warre, the severall, use, defects, and supplies of Shipping, the strength, and defects of the Sea forces of England, France, Spaine, *and* Venice, *Together with the five manifest causes of the suddaine appearing of the Hollanders, Written by Sir* WALTER RAWLEIGH.

THat the Ark of *Noah*, was the first Ship, because the Invention of God himself, although some men have believed, yet it is certaine, That the world, being planted before the Flood, the same could not be performed without

out some transporting vessels; It is true, & the successe proves it, That there was not any so capacious nor so strong to defend it self against so violent, and so continued a powring down of raine, as the Arke *Noah*, the Invention of God himself, or of what fashion or fabrick soever, the rest withall mankind perished, according to the Ordnance of God. And probable it is that the Anchors, whereof *Ovid* made mention of, found on high Mountains: *Et inventa est in montibus Anchora Summis*; were remaining of Ships wrackt at the generall flood.

After the Flood, it is said, that *Minos*, who lived two discents before the War of *Troy*, set out Ships to free the Grecians Seas of Pyrats, which shews, that there had beene either trade, or Warre, upon the Waters before his time also.

Pindar. The expedition of the *Argauants* was after *Minos*, And so was

was the plantation of *Tyrene* in *Africa*, by *Battus*, who was one of *Jasons* Companions, And that the *Tyrians* had Trade by Sea, before the Warre of *Troy*, *Homer* tells us.

Others give the first Dominion upon the Waters to *Neptune*, who, for the great exploits he did in the service of *Saburne*, was, by after ages, called the God of the Seas. But the *Corinthians* ascribe the invention of Rowing vessells, to a Citizen of their owne called *Amænocles*, And that the first Navall Warre, was made betweene the *Samiens* and *Corcyriens*. D:Sic.Lib.6. Lib Ger. 1.Cap. 1.

Ithicus History changed into Latine by St. *Hierome*, affirmes that *Griphon* the *Scythian*, was the inventor of long Boats, or Gallies, in the Northerne Seas; And *Strabo* gives the advise of the Anchor, with two Hookes to the *Scythian Anacharsis*, but the Greeks to *Eupolemus*.

It is also said, that *Icarus* invented the saile, and others other pieces, and parts of the ships and Boats, whereof the certaine knowledge is of no great moment, This is certaine, that the Sons, and Nephews of *Noah*, who peopled the Isles of the Gentiles, and gave their owne names to many of them, had vessells to transport themselves, long before the daies of *Minos*; And for my own opinion, I doe not thinke that any one Nation (the *Syrian* excepted) to whom the knowledge of the Arke came, as the story of the creation did, soone after *Moses*, did find out at once, the device either of ship or Boate, in which they durst venture themselves upon the Seas: But being forced by necessity to passe over Rivers, or Lakes, they first bound together certaine Reeds or Canes, by which they transported themselves: *Calamorum falces* (saith *D: Siculus*) *admodum ingentes inter se conjungunt.*

Others

Others made Raffes of Wood, and other deviſed the Boate of one tree called the *Canoa*, which the *Gaules* upon the River of *Roan*, uſed in aſſiſting the tranſportation of *Hannibals* Army in his enterpriſe of *Italie*: *Primum Galli inchoantes cavabant Arbores* (ſaith *Livie*) But *Polydor Virgil*, gives the invention of thoſe *Canoas*, to the *Germains* inhabiting about the River of *Danubius*, which kind of Hollow trees, *Iſidor* calls *Carabes*.

Livie 1. Lib. Dec. Polidor Lib. 3.

The Brittains had Boats made of Willow Twigs and covered on the out ſide with Bullock hydes, andſo had the *Venetians*; of which *Lucan primum cana ſalix*, &c. *Maleſacto*, &c. And *Julius Solinus Navigant autem Vimineis alveis quos circundant ambitione tergorum Bubalorum*: The ſame kind of Boats had the *Germains* (ſaith *Iſidor*) who in his time committed many Robberies in

Iſidor Orig. 9. de Navig. Cap: 1.

them: But whoſoever deviſed the *Canoa* among the *Danubians*, or among the *Gaules*, ſure I am, that the *Indians* of *America*, never had any trade with either of theſe Nations, And yet from *Fuobuſhers* ſtraits, to the ſtraits of *Magalaine*, thoſe Boats are found, and in ſome parts of that length, As I have ſeene them rowed with twenty Oars of a ſide.

The truth is, that all Nations how remote ſoever, being all reaſonable creatures, and enjoy one and the ſame Imagination and fantaſie, having deviſed according to their means and materialls the ſame things.

The Eaſtern people, who have had from all Antiquitie, the uſe of Iron, have found out the Sawe, And with the Sawe, they have ſundred Trees, in Boards and Plancks, And have joyned them together with Nayles, and ſo made Boats and Gallies ſafe and portable, So have they built Cities, and Towns,

Townes of Timber and the like in all elſe.

On the contrary, the *Weſt-Indies* and many Nations of the *Africans*, wanting means and materialls, have been taught by their own neceſſities to paſſe Rivers in a Boate of one Tree, and to tye unſquared Poles together, on the top for their houſes, which they cover with large leaves, yea the ſame Boats, and the ſame buildings, are found in Countries, two thouſand miles diſtant, debarred from all commerce, by unpaſſable Mountains, Lakes, and Deſerts; Nature hath taught them all to chooſe Kings and Captains for their leaders, And Judges. They all have lighted on the invention of Bowes and Arrowes, All have Targets and woodden Swords: All have inſtruments to encourage them to fight: All that have Corne beate it in Morters, and make Cakes, baking them upon Slateſtones: All deviſed

Lawes without any grounds had from the Scriprures, or from *Ariſtotles Politiques*, whereby they are governed: All that dwell neere enemies impale their villages to ſave themſelves from ſurprize, yea beſides the ſame inventions, All have the ſame naturall impulſions, They follow nature in the choice of many wives, and there are every where among them, which out of a kind of wolviſh ferocitie, eate mans fleſh; yea moſt of them beleive in a ſecond life, and they are all of them Idolaters in one kind or other.

For the Northerne parts of the world, It was long ere they grew to any perfection in Shipping, For wee read that *Hingeſt*, and *Horſa*, Came over into this Land in long Boats, in which for the firſt being called in by the *Brittains*, they tranſported five thouſand ſouldiers. And that after they came with a ſupply of ten thouſand more Shipt in thirty veſſells, which

which the *Saxons* call *Keeles*, And our old Hiſtorians *Cogiones*, And in *Cæſars* time, the *French Brittains* who were then eſteemed the beſt *Brittaine* Sea men, had very untoward Tubs in which they made Warre againſt him. For they tooke the winds in Sailes of Leather, heavy and unplyable, And they faſtned their ſhips to the ground, and rid at Anchor with Cables of Iron Chains, having neither Canvas, nor Cordage. In ſo much as the beſt of them which were of *Vannes*, are deſcribed with high heads raiſed up deformedly above the reſt of the buildings, to which kind of forme that they were conſtrained, the reaſon is manifeſt. For had their Cables of Iron chains held any great length, they had been unportable, And being ſhort, the Ships muſt have ſunck at an Anchor, in any ſtreame of weather or Countertyde, And ſuch was their ſimplicitie in thoſe dayes, As inſtead

ſtead of accommodating their furniture to their Ships, they formed their ſhips to their furniture; Not unlike the Courtiers of this age who fit their Bodies and their Feet to their Doublets and Shooes, and not their Doublets and Shooes to their Bodies, and Feete.

The *Pomerlanders* inhabiting the South part of the *Baltick*, or Eaſtland Sea, uſed a kind of Boate, with the prowe at both ends, ſo as they need not to wend or hold water, But went on and returned indifferently, of which:

Tacitus de moribus German:

Tacitus Suionum hinc Civitates ipſo in oceano præter viros armaque Claſſibus valent; forma navium, eo differt, quod utrinque prora paratam ſemper appulſui frontem agit: Nec velis miniſtrantur; nec remos in ordinem lateribus adiungant. Solutum ut in quibuſdam fluminum & mutabile ut res poſſit hinc vel illinc remigium:

Next

Next are the Cities of the *Suionum* which are mighty at Sea, not only in men and armes, but in Fleete: The forme of their veſſells differ in this, That a Prowe at each end enables them to row forward either way alike: Neither uſe they Sayles, nor place their oars in order upon the ſides, but carrying the oare looſe, They ſhift it hither and thither at pleaſure, as is the manner in ſome Rivers, Yea at this time both the Turkes and Chriſtians uſe theſe kind of Boats upon the River of *Danubius*, and call them *Nacerne*.

True it is, that before *Cæſars* Invading of this Land, we doe find that the *Brittains* had not any ſhipping at all, other then their Boats of Twigs covered with hydes as aforeſaid.

The *Saxons* when they were drawne in by the *Brittains*, came hither by Sea. And after that time finding that without Shipping they could neither defend themſelves nor exerciſe any Trade,

Trade, They began to make ſome proviſion for a Navy, ſuch as it was, which being firſt conſidered of by *Egbert*, *Alfred*, *Edgar*, and *Etheldred*, augmented it, and how true it is, I know not, but it is written of *Edgar*, that he increaſed the Fleete, he found, two thouſand ſix hundred ſaile: After whom *Etheldred* made a Law, That whoſoever was Lord of three hundred and ten hide Land, ſhould build and furniſh one ſhip for the defence of their Country.

Notwithſtanding all theſe proviſions, the *Danes* invaded them, and having better ſhips then they had, made their way for a new conqueſt.

The *Normans* grew better Shipwrights then either of both, and made the laſt conqueſt of this Land, a Land which can never be conquered, whilſt the Kings thereof keep the Dominion of the Seas, which Dominion I doe not find, that it was ever abſolute, till the

the time of *Henry* the Eight, But that we fought ſometime with good, ſometime with ill ſucceſſe, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter more particularly.

But omitting the diſpute of the firſt Navigators, Certaine it is, that the Invention of the compaſſe was had from our Northerne Nations, were it from the *Germans*, *Norvegians*, *Brittanes*, or *Danes*, for even to this day, the old Northerne words are uſed for the diviſion of winds upon the quarter of the compaſſe, not only by the *Danes*, *Germans*, *Swedes*, *Brittanes*, and all in the Ocean, that underſtand the termes and names of the winds in their owne language: But the French and Spaniſh called the ſun riſing winds, Eaſt or Eaſt, and the ſunne ſetting winds Weſt, the reſt North and South, and ſo by the ſame termes, In all the Diviſions of Southeaſt, Northeaſt, Southweſt, Northweſt, and the reſt.

And if we compare the marveilous great

great transportations of people by the *Saxons*, *Angles*, *Danes*, *Gothes*, *Swedes*, *Norwegians*, especially and other. And how many Fleets for supplies, have been set out by them, with the swarmes of *Danes* aswell in our Seas, as when they invaded and conquered *Scicilie*, together with the *Colonies*, planted by the *Tyrians* in *Africa*, as else where, and of the *Carthaginians* the Sons of the *Tyrians* in *Spaine*.

Its hard to judge which of these Nations have most commanded the Seas, though for priority *Tribullus*, and *Ovid* give it the *Tyrians*.

Tribull Eleg: Strab: Lib:16.

Prima ratam Ventis credere docta Tyros, And *Ovid*, *Magna minerque fere quarum Regis altera Gratias; altera Sydonias uterque ficca rates.*

And it is true, that the first good Ships were among the *Tyrians*, and they good and great Ships, nor long after the Warre of *Troy*, and in *Solomons*

mons time, they were of that account as *Solomon* invited *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, to joyne with him in his Journey into the East-Indies, for the *Israelites* till then, never traded by Sea, and seldome if ever after it, and that the *Tyrians* were the chiefe in that enterprise, It appears in that they were called *Nautas peritos maris*, in the Hebrew (saith *Junius*) *homines navium*, And in our English Marriners. Junius. 1. *King.* Cap. 9.

It is also written in the second of *Chronicles* the eight. That *Hiram* sent *Solomon* Ships, *Et servos peritos maris*, And servants skilfull of the Sea, whereby it is probable, that the *Tyrians* had used the Trade of East-India before the dayes of *Solomon*, or before the Raigne of *David*, when themselves commanded the Ports of the Red Sea, But the *Edumæans* being beaten by *David*, and the Port of *Ezion-Geber*,

ber, now subject to *Solomon*, the *Tyrians* were forced to make *Solomon* the cheife of that expedition, and to joine with him in the enterprise. For the *Tyrian* had no passe to the Red Sea, but through the territory of *Solomon*, and by his sufferance.

Whosoever were the inventers, we find that every age, had added somewhat to ships, and to all things else. And in my owne time the shape of our English ships, hath been greatly bettered. It is not long since the striking of the Top-mast (a wonderfull great ease to great ships both at Sea and Harbour) hath been devised, together with the Chaine pumpe, which takes up twice as much water as the ordinary did, we have lately added the *Bonnett*, and the *Drabler*. To the courses we have devised studding Sayles, Top gallant Sayles; Sprit stayles, Top stayles, The weighing of Anchors by the Capstone is also new. We have fallen

fallen into conſideration of the length of Cables, and by it we reſiſt the malice of the greateſt winds that can blow, Witneſſe our ſmall *Milbrooke* men of *Cornewall*, that ride it out at Anchor, half Seas over betweene *England* and *Ireland*, all the winter quarter, And witneſſe the *Hollanders* that were wont to ride before *Dunkirke*, with the wind at Northweſt, making a Lee ſhoare in all weathers: For true it is, that the length of the Cable, is the life of the Ship in all extreamities, and the reaſon is, becauſe it makes ſo many bendings and waves, as the Ship riding at that length it is not able to ſtretch it, and nothing breaks that is not ſtretched. In extreamity, we carry our Ordnance better then we were wont, Becauſe our Netheroverloops are raiſed commonly from the water, to wit, betweene the lower part of the Port and the Sea.

In King *Henry* the eights time, and

in this preſent, at *Portſmouth* the *Marie Roſe*, by a little ſway of the Ship in caſting about, her Ports being within ſixteene Inches of the waters, was overſet and loſt, and in her that worthy Knight Sir *George Carew*, Cozen Germaine to the Lord *Carew*, and with him (beſides many other Gentlemen) the Father of the late renowned, Sir *Richard Greeneuile*.

Wee have alſo raiſed our ſecond Decks and given more vent thereby to our Ordnance, tying on our Nether-overloope.

We have added croſſe pillars in our Royall ſhips to ſtrengthen them, which be faſtned from the Kelſon to the beams of the ſecond Decke, keepe them from ſetling or from giving way in all diſtreſſes.

We have given longer Floares to our Ships, then in elder times, and better bearing under water, whereby they never fall into the Sea, after the head and

and ſhake the whole body, nor ſinck ſterne, nor ſtoope upon a wind, by which the breaking looſe of our Ordnance or the not uſe of them, with many other diſcommodities are avoided.

And to ſay the truth a miſerable ſhame and diſhonour it were for our Shipwrights, if they did not exceed all other, in the ſetting up of our Royall Ships, the Errors of other Nations being farre more excuſable then ours. For the Kings of *England* have for many years been at the charge to build and furniſh a Navy of powerfull Ships, for their owne defence, and for the Wars only.

Whereas the *French*, the *Spaniards*, the *Portugalls*, and the *Hollanders* (till of late) have had no proper Fleete belonging to their Princes or States.

Only the *Venetians* for a long time have maintained their Arſenal of Gallyes, & the Kings of *Denmark*, and *Sweden*, have had good Ships for theſe laſt

Fifty years, I ſay that the forenamed Kings, eſpecially the *Spaniards* and *Portugalls*, have ſhips of great bulke, but fitter for the Merchant then for the man of Warre, for burthen then for Battaile: But as *Popelinire* well obſerveth, the forces of Princes by Sea, are *Marqueſs de Grandeux d' Eſtate*, Are markes of the greatneſſe of an Eſtate: For whoſoever commands the Sea, Commands the Trade: whoſoever Commands the Trade of the world: Commands the Riches of the world and conſequently the world it ſelfe: yet can I not deny, but that the *Spaniards* being afraid of their *Indian* Fleets, have built ſome few very good ſhips, but he hath no ſhips in Garriſon, as his Majeſtie hath, and to ſay the truth, no ſure place to keepe them in; But in all Invaſions he is driven to take up of all Nations, which comes into his Ports for Trade.

The *Venetians* while they attended their

their Fleets, and imployed themselves in their Easterne Conquest, were great and powerfull Princes, and Commanded the Maritimate parts of *Croatia*, *Dalmatia*, *Albania*, and *Epirus*, were Lords of *Peloponesus*, and the Islands adjoyning, of *Cyprus*, *Candia*, and many other places, but after they sought to greaten themselves in *Italie* it self, using strangers for the Commanders of their armies; The Turkes by degrees beate them out of all their goodly Countryes, and have now confined them (*Candia* excepted) to a few small *Grecian* Islands, which with great difficulty they enjoy.

The first honour they obtained, was by making Warre upon the *Istrii* by Sea, and had they been true to their spouse, to wit the Seas, which once a yeare they marry, the Turks had never prevailed against them, nor ever been able to be siege any place of theirs, to which he must have transported

his armies by his *Gallies*.

The *Genowaies* were also exceeding powerfull by Sea, and held many places in the East, and contended often with the *Venetians* for superiority, destroying each other in a long continued Sea Warre, Yea the *Genowaies* were the most famous Mercenaries of all *Europe*, both by Sea and Land for many years.

The French assisted themselves by Land with the Crosbowers of *Genoa* against the English, namely at the Battaile of *Cressie*, The French had 12000 Crosbowers *Genowaies* by Sea. With their great ships called the Carrecks of *Genoa*, they alwayes strengthned their Fleets against the English, But after *Mahomet* the second had taken *Constantinople*, they lost *Caffa*, and all *Taurica*, *Chersonesus* with the whole Trade of the *Euxine* Sea, and although they sent many supplies by the *Hellespont*, yet having often felt

the

the ſmart of the *Turks* Cannon, they began to ſlack their ſuccours, and were ſoone after ſupplanted: yet doe the *Venetians* to this day, well mainetaine their eſtate by their Sea forces, and a great loſſe it is to the Chriſtian Common-weale in generall, that they are leſſe then they were, And a precipitate Counſell it was of thoſe Chriſtian Kings their Neighbours, when they joined in League againſt them, ſeeing they then were, and they yet are, the ſtrongeſt Rampiers of *Europe* againſt the *Turks*.

But the *Genowaies* have now but a few Gallyes being altogether degenerate, and become Merchants of mony, and the Spaniſh Kings bankers.

But all the States and Kingdomes of the world have changed forme and pollicy.

The Empire it ſelfe, which gave light to all principallities, like a *Pharo's*, or high Tower to Seamen, is now

ſunck downe to the levell of the ſoyle. The greatneſſe which it gave to the *Church* of *Rome* as before proved, was it which made it ſelfe little in haſt, And therefore truely ſaid; *Imperium amore Religionis ſeipſum, Exhauſiſſe*, The Empire being alſo elective and not ſucceſſive, The Emperors in being made profit of their owne times, and ſold from the Empire many Signiories depending on it, and at ſo eaſy a rate, as *Lucca* freed it ſelf for ten thouſand Crownes; and *Florence* for ſix thouſand Crowns; The reſt, the Popes; then the *Hauſes*, and laſtly the Turks have in effect ruined. And in which ſeverall Inundations many pieces have been recovered by other Princes and States. As *Baſill*, *Zurick*, and *Bearne*, by the *Switzers* (omitting many others) *Metz Tholouſe*, *Verdum*, by the French, *Groigne Aix la Chapple*, *Zuphen*, *Deuenter*, *Newengen*, in *Gilderland*, *Weſell*, *Antwerpe*, And many other

other places by the Spaniards; and by the States, *Dantzick* and other townes of importance by the *Polack*. Insomuch as it is now become, the moſt confuſed eſtate of the world, Con- " ſiſting of an Empire in title with " territory, who can ordaine nothing " of importance but by a dyet or aſ- " ſembly of the Eſtates of many free " Princes, Eccleſiaſticall and Tem- " porall; in effect of equall force, di- " vers in Religion and faction, and of " free Cities and Hanſtownes, whom " the Princes doe not more deſire to Command, then they ſcorne to obey, Notwithſtanding being by farre leſſe then they were in number and leſſe in force and Reputation, as they are not greatly able to offend others, ſo have they enough to doe (being ſeated farre aſunder) to defend themſelves, of whom hereafter more particularly.

The *Caſſilians*, in the meane while are growne great, and by miſtaking eſteemed

ſteemed the greateſt, Having by Marriage, Conqueſt, practize, and purchaſe, devowred all Kingdomes within *Spaine*, with *Naples*, *Sicilie*, *Millaine*, and the *Netherlands*, And many places belonging to the Empire and the Princes thereof. Beſides the *Indies* Eaſt and Weſt, The Iſlands of the Weſt *Ocean*, and many places in *Barbary Guiena*, *Congo* and elſe where.

France hath alſo enlarged it ſelf by the one half, and reduced *Normandy*, *Brittaine*, and *Aquitaine*, withall that the Engliſh had on that ſide the Sea, together with *Languedocke Foix*, *Armignac*, *Beerne*, and *Dolphine*.

For this Kingdome of great *Brittaine*: it hath had by his Majeſty a ſtrong addition, The poſterne by which we were ſo often heretofore entered and ſurpriſed, is now made up; and we ſhall not hereafter need the double face of *Janus* to looke North and South at once.

But

But there is no ſtate growne in haſt, but that of the united provinces, and eſpecially in their Sea forces, and by a contrary way to that of *France*, or *Spaine*, the latter by Invaſion, the former by oppreſſion; For I my ſelf may remember when one ſhip of her Majeſties, would have made forty *Hollanders* ſtrike ſayle, and to come to Anchor. They did not then diſpute De *mari libero*, but readily acknowledg'd the Engliſh to be *Domini maris Brittanici*: That we are leſſe powerfull then we were, I doe hardly beleive it, For although we have not at this time 135 ſhips, belonging to the ſubjects, of 500 tuns each ſhip, as it is ſaid we had in the 24. yeare of Queen *Elizabeth*, at which time alſo upon a generall view and muſter, there were found in *England* of all men, fit to beare armes, eleaven hundred and ſeaventy two thouſand, yet are our Merchants ſhips, now farre more warlike and

and better appointed then they were, and the Navy Royall double as ſtrong as then it was, For theſe were the ſhips of her Majeſties Navy at that time.

1. The *Triumph.*
2. The *Eliz: Ionas.*
3. The *white Beare.*
4. The *Phill:* and *Mary.*
5. The *Bonaventure.*
6. The *Golden Lion.*
7. The *Victory.*
8. The *Revenge.*
9. The *Hope.*
10. The *Mary Roſe.*
11. The *Dreadnaught.*
12. The *Minion.*
13. The *Swiftſure.*

To which there hath been added.

14. The *Antelope.*
15. The *Foreſight.*
16. The *Swallow.*
17. The *Handmaide.*
18. The *Gennett.*
19. The Barque of *Bullen*
20. The *Ayde.*
21. The *Achates.*
22. The *Falcon.*
23. The *Tyger.*
24. The *Bull.*

We have not therefore leſſe force then we had, the faſhion and furniſhing of our Ships Conſidered: For there are in *England* at this time 400. ſaile of Merchants fit for the Wars, which the *Spaniards* would call *Gallions*; to which we may adde 200 ſaile of *Crumſters*, or hoyes of *Newcaſtle*, which

which each of them will beare ſix Demiculverins, and foure *Sakers*, needing no other addition of building, then a ſlight ſpar Decke, fore and afte as the Seamen call it, which is a ſlight Decke throughout, the 200, which may be choſen out of 400, by reaſon of their ready ſtaying and turning, by reaſon of their windwardneſſe, and by reaſon of their drawing of little water, And they are of extreame vantage neere the ſhoare, And in all Bayes and Rivers to turne in and out: Theſe, I ſay, alone, well manned, and well Conducted, would trouble the greateſt Prince of *Europe* to encounter in our Seas, For they ſtay and turne ſo readily, As, ordering them into ſmall ſquadrons, three of them at once, may give their broad ſides, upon any one great ſhip, or upon any Angle or ſide of an enemies Fleet, They ſhall be able to continue a perpetuall volley of Demiculverins without

out intermiſſion, And either ſinck or ſlaughter the men, or utterly diſorder any Fleet of croſſe ſailes, with which they encounter.

I ſay then if a *Vanguard* be ordeined of theſe *hoyes*, who will eaſily recover the wind of any other ſhips, with a Battaile of 400 other warlike ſhips, and a Reare of thirty of his Majeſties ſhips to ſuſtaine, relieve and countenance the reſt (if God beat them not) I know not what ſtrength can be gathered in all *Europe* to beat them. And if it be objected, that the States can furniſh a farre greater number, I anſwer that his Majeſties 40 ſhips, added to 600 before named, are of Incomparable greater force, then all that *Holland* and *Zeeland*, can furniſh for the Wars. As alſo that a greater number would breed the ſame confuſion, that was found in *Zerxes* Land Army of ſeaventeene hundred thouſand ſouldiers: For there is a certaine proportion

portion both by Sea and Land, beyond which, the exceſſe brings nothing but diſorders and amazement.

Of thoſe *hoyes*, *Carvills*, or *Crumſters*, Call them what you will, there was a notable experience made in the yeare, 1574. in the River of *Antwerpe*, neere *Rummerſwaell*, where the Admirall *Boyſett* with his *Crumſters* overthrew the Spaniſh Fleet of great Ships Conducted by *Julian Romero*, So contrary to the expectation of *Don Lewis*, the great Commander and Lieutenant of the *Netherlands* for the King of *Spaine*, as he came to the bancks of *Bergen* to behold the ſlaughter of the *Zelanders*. But contrary to his expectation, he beheld his *Armado*, ſome of them ſunck, ſome of them thruſt on the ſhoare, and moſt of the reſt maſtered and poſſeſſed by his enemies. Inſomuch, as his great Captain *Romero*, with great difficulty, ſome ſay in a skiffe, ſome ſay by ſwymming, ſaved himſelfe. The

The like ſucceſſe had Captaine *Werſt* of *Zeeland*, againſt the Fleet which tranſported the Duke of *Medini Cœli*, who was ſent out of *Spaine* by Sea, to governe the *Netherlands*, in place of the Duke of *Alva*, For with twelve *Crumſters* or *Hoyes* of the firſt troope of 21. ſayle, he tooke all but three, and he forced the ſecond (being twelve great ſhips filled with 2000. ſouldiers,) to run under the *Ramakins*, being then in the *Spaniards* poſſeſſion.

But whence comes this diſpute? Not from the increaſe of numbers, Not becauſe our Neighbours breed more Marriners then we doe, Nor from the greatneſſe of their Trade in all parts of the world, For the *French* creepe into all corners of *America*, and *Africa*, as they doe, and the *Spaniards*, and *Portugalls*, imploy more ſhips by many (fiſhing trades excepted) then the *Netherlands* doe. But it comes

comes from the deteſtable covetouſneſſe of ſuch particular perſons as have gotten Licences, and given way to the tranſporting of the Engliſh Ordnance. *Fuit hæc Sapientia quondam, publica privatis ſecernere, Sacra profanis.* And that in ſo great abundance, as that not only our good friends the *Hollanders*, and *Zealanders*, have furniſhed themſelves, and have them lying on their Wharfes to ſell to others; but all other Nations have had from us, not only to furniſh their Fleets, but to Garniſh all their Forts and other places, fortifying their Coaſts; without which the Spaniſh King durſt not have diſmounted ſo many pieces of Braſſe in *Naples* and elſe where, therewith to Arme his great Fleete in 88. But it was directly proved in the Lower Houſe of Parliament *Anno* of Queene *Elizabeth*. That there were landed in *Naples* above 140. Culverins Engliſh, ſince

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But whence comes this dispute? Not from the increase of numbers, Not because our Neighbours breed more Marriners then we doe, Nor from the greatnesse of their Trade in all parts of the world, For the *French* creepe into all corners of *America*, and *Africa*, as they doe, and the *Spaniards*, and *Portugalls*, imploy more ships by many (fishing trades excepted) then the *Netherlands* doe. But it comes

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which time also, and not long since, It is lamentable that so many have beene transported into *Spaine*. But those that belike then determined it, and the transporters, have now forsaken the Country, and though the procurers remaine, I am resolved that they also have forsaken the care of his Majesties Estate, And the honour of this Nation. I urge not this point as thinking it unfit, to furnish his Majesties good friends and Allyes, who have had with us one common enemy for many yeares; But all politique Estates have well observed this precept: *Ut sic tractarent amicum; tanquam inimicum futurum*: For what are all the Ships in the world to be valued at, orher then a company of floating tubs, were they not furnished with Ordnance, either to offend others, or defend themselves? If a Ship of a thousand tuns had in her a thousand Muskateers, and never a great Gun; with one

one *Crumſter*, carrying ten or thirteene Culverins, ſhe may be beaten to pieces, and her men ſlaughtered. Certainly the advantage which the Engliſh had by their Bowes and Arrowes in former times, was never ſo great, as we might now have had by our Iron Ordnance, if we had either kept it within the Land, kept it from our enemies, or imparted it to our friends, moderately; For as by the former we obteined many notable victories, and made our ſelves maſters of many parts of *France*, ſo by the latter we might have Commanded the Seas, and thereby the Trade of the world it ſelfe. But we have now to our future prejudice, and how far to our prejudice I know not, forged Hammers and delivered them out of our hands, to breake our owne Bones withall.

For the concluſion of this diſpute, there are five manifeſt cauſes of the upgrowing of the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*.

1. The first is, the favour and assistance of Queene *Elizabeth*, and the Kings Majesty, which the late worthy and famous Prince of *Orange*, did alwayes acknowledge, and in the yeare 1582. when I tooke my leave of him at *Antwerpe*, After the returne of the Earle of *Leiceſt*: into *England*, And Monsieur's arrivall there, when he delivered me his Letters to her Majesty; He prayed me to say to the Queen from him, *Sub umbra alarum tuarum protegimur:* for certainly they had withered in the Bud, and sunck in the beginning of their Navigation, had not her Majesty assisted them.

2. The second cause was, The imploying of their owne people in their Trades and Fishings, and the entertaining of strangers, to serve them in their armies by Land.

3. The third is, the fidelity of the house of *Nassaw*, and their services done them, especially of that Renowned

nowned Prince *Maurice*, now living.

4. The fourth, the withdrawing of the Duke of *Parma* twice into *France*, while in his absence he recovered those strong places of *Zealand*, and *Frizland*, as *Deventer Zuphen*, &c.

5. And the fifth, the imbarging and confiscating of their Ships in *Spaine*, which constrained them and gave them courage to Trade by force into the East and West *Indies*, and in *Africa*, in which they imploy 180 Ships, and 8700 Marriners.

The successe of a Counsell so contrary to their wisdome that gave it, as all the wit, and all the force the *Spaniards* have, will hardly (if ever) recover the damage thereby received.

For to repaire that ruine of the *Hollanders* trade into both *Indies* the *Spaniards* did not only labour the truce: But the King was content to quit the *Sovereigntie*, of the united Provinces, and to acknowledge them for free

States, neither holding nor depending on the Crowne of *Spaine*. But be their estates what it will, let not them deceive themselves in believing that they can make themselves masters of the Sea, For certainly the shipping of *England*, with the great squadron of his Majesties Navy Royall, are able in despight of any Prince or State in *Europe*, to Command the great and large Field of the Ocean. But as I shall never thinke him a Lover of this Land, or of the King, that shall perswade his Majesty from imbracing the amity of the States of the united Provinces: (For his Majesty is no lesse safe by them, then they invincible by him:) So I would wish them, (Because after my duty to mine owne Soveraigne, and the love of my Country, I honour them most) That they remember and consider it, that seeing their passage and Repassage, lyes through the British Seas, that there is no Port in

France,

France, from *Callice* to *Flushing*, that can receive their ships, that many times outward by Westerly winds, and ordinarily homewards, not only from the East *Indies*, but from the *Straits*, and from *Spaine*, all Southerly winds (the Brises of our Clymate) thrust them of necessity into the Kings ports, how much his Majesties favour doth concerne them, for if (as themselves confesse in their last treaty of Truce with the *Spaniards*) They subsist by their trades, the disturbance of their trades (which *England* can only disturbe) will also disturbe their subsistance. The rest I will omit, because I can never doubt, either their gratitudes or their wisdomes. For our *Newcastle* trade, (from which I have digressed) I refer the Reader to the Author of the trades increase, a Gentleman to me unknowne, But so far as I can judge, he hath many things very considerable, in that short treaty of his;

yea both conſiderable and praiſe worthy, and among the reſt, the adviſe which he hath given for the maintenance of our *Hoyes*, and *Carvills* of *Newcaſtle*, which may ſerve us, beſides the breeding of Marriners for good ſhips of Warre, and of exceeding advantage, and certainly I cannot but admire, why the Impoſitions of five ſhillings ſhould any way diſhearten them, ſeeing there is but one Company in *England*, upon whoſe trade any new payment are layd, But that they on whom it is laid raiſe profit by it, The Silkemen, if they pay his Majeſty twelve pence upon a yard of Sattin, they not only raiſe that twelve pence, but they impoſe twelve pence or two ſhillings more upon the ſubject, ſo doe they upon all they ſell of what kind ſoever: as all other Retaylers doe, of what quality or profeſſion ſoever: And ſeeing all the Maritimate provinces of *France*, and *Flanders*, all

Holland

Holland and *Zealand*, *Embden* and *Breame*, &c. Cannot want our *Newcaſtle*, or our Welſh Coales, The Impoſition cannot impoveriſh the tranſporter; but that the buyer muſt make payment accordingly; And if the Impoſitions laid on theſe things, whereof this Kingdome hath no neceſſary uſe, as upon Silkes, Velvets, Gold and Silver Lace, and cloaths of Gold, and Silver, Cut works, Cambricks, and a world of other trumperyes, doth in nothing hinder their vent here: But that they are more uſed, then ever they were, to the utter impoveriſhing of the Land in generall, and of thoſe *Popinjayes* that value themſelves by their out ſides, and by their Players coats, Certainly the impoſing upon Coales, which other Nations cannot want, can be no hinderance at all to the Newcaſtlemen, but that they may raiſe it againe upon the *French* and other Nations, as thoſe Nations themſelves doe,

doe, which fetch them from us with their owne ſhipping.

For concluſion of this Chapter, I ſay that it is exceeding lamentable, that for any reſpect in the world, ſeeing the preſervation of the State and Monarchie, doth ſurmount all other reſpects, that ſtrangers ſhould be permitted to eat us out, by exporting and importing both our owne Commodities, and thoſe of Forreigne Nations: For it is no wonder we are overtopped in all the trades we have abroad and far off, Seeing we have the graſſe cut from under our feet in our fields and paſtures.

FINIS.

A Discourse of the Originall and fundamentall cause of Naturall, Customary, Arbitrary, Voluntary, and necessary War, with the misery of invasive Warre. That Ecclesiasticall Prelates, have alwayes been subject to Temporall Princes, and that the Pope had never any lawfull power in England, *either in Civill, or Ecclesiasticall, businesse, after such time, as* Brittaine *was won from the Roman* Empire.

THe ordinary Theme and Argument of History is War, which may be defined the exercise of violence under Soveraigne Command, against withstanders force, Authority and resistance

resistance, being the essentiall parts thereof, violence limited by authority is sufficiently distinguisht from Robbery and the like outrages: yet consisting in relation towards others, It necessarily requires a supposition of resistance, whereby the force of War becomes different from the violence inflicted upon Slaves, or yeilding Malefactors; as for Armes, Discipline, and whatsoever else belongeth to the making of War prosperous, they are only considerable in degree of perfection, since naked savages fighting disorderly with stones, by appointment of their Commanders, may truly and absolutely be said to War.

Nevertheless, it is true, that as the Beasts are armed with fierce teeth, pawes, horns, and other bodily instruments of much advantage against unweaponed men, so hath reason taught man to strengthen his hand with such offensive Armes, as no creature

else

eſſe can well avoid or poſſibly reſiſt. And it might ſeeme happy, if the ſword, the Arrow, the Gun, with many terrible Engines of death, could be wholly imployed in the exerciſe of that Lordly rule, which the Lord of all hath given to mankind over the reſt of living things. But ſince in humane reaſon there hath no meanes been found of holding all mankind at peace within it ſelf: It is needfull that againſt the wit and ſubtilty of man, we oppoſe not only the bruit force of our bodyes, (wherein many Beaſts exceed us,) but helping our ſtrength with art and wiſdome, ſtrive to excell our enemies in thoſe points wherein man is excellent over other Creatures.

The neceſſity of War, which among humane Actions is the moſt lawleſſe, hath ſome kind of affinity, and neere reſemblances with the neceſſity of Law. For there were no uſe at all, either of War or of Law;

If

If every man had prudence to conceive how much of right were due both to and from himſelfe, and were withall ſo punctually juſt, as to performe what he knew requiſite, and to reſt contented with his owne. But ſeeing that no conveyance of Land can be made ſo ſtrong, by any skill of Lawyers, with multiplicity of clauſes, and proviſoes, That it may be ſecure from contentious *Avarice*, and the malice of falſe ſeeming Juſtice: It is not to bee wondered, that the great Charter, whereby God beſtowed the whole earth upon *Adam*, And confirmed it unto the Sons of *Noah*, being as breife in word, as large in effect, hath bred much quarrell of interpretation.

Gen. Cap. 1. ver. 28.

Surely howſoever the Letter of that Donation, may be unregarded by the moſt of men, yet the ſenſe thereof is ſo imprinted in their hearts, And ſo paſſionatly imbraced by their greedy deſires,

desires, As if every one laid claime for himself unto that, which was conferred upon all.

This appeared in the *Gaules*, who falling upon *Italy* under their Captaine *Brennus*, told the Roman Ambassadours plainly that prevalent arms were as good as any title, and that valiant men might account to be their owne as much as they could get; That they wanting Land therewith to susteine their people, And the *Tuscanes*, having more then enough, It was their meaning to take what they needed by strong hand, if it were not yeilded quietly. Now if it be well affirmed by Lawyers, that there is no taking of possession more just, then *In vacuum venire*, to enter upon Land unhabited, As our Countrymen have lately done in the Summer Islands: Then may it be inferred, that this demand of the *Gaules*, held more of reason then could be discerned at the first view.

For if the title of occupiers be good in a Land unpeopled, why ſhould it be bad accounted in a Country Peopled over thinly? ſhould one family or one thouſand hold poſſeſſion of all the Southerne, undiſcovered continent, becauſe they had ſeated themſelves in *Nova Guiana*, or about the *Straits* of *Magalane*? why might not the like be done in *Africk*, in *Europe*, or in *Aſia*? If this were moſt abſurd to imagine, Let then any mans wiſdome determine by leſſening the Territory, and increaſing the number of Inhabitants, what proportion is requiſite to the peopling of a Region in ſuch manner, That the Land ſhall be neither too narrow for thoſe whom it feedeth, nor capable of a greater multitude; Untill this can be concluded and agreed upon, one maine and fundamentall cauſe of the moſt grievous Warre that can be imagined, is not like to be taken from the Earth. It

were

were perhaps enough in reason to succour with victualls and other helps, a vast multitude compelled by necessity to seeke a new seate, or to direct them unto a Country able to receive them: But what shall perswade a mighty Nation to travaile so farre by Land, or Sea, over Mountaines, Deserts, And great Rivers, with their Wives and Children, when they are, or thinke themselves powerfull enough to serve themselves neerer hand, and inforce others into the Labour of such a Journey? I have briefely shewed in an other worke, that the miseries accompaning this kind of War, are most extreame. For as much as the *Invaders* cannot otherwise be satisfied then by rooting out or expelling the Nation upon which they fall.

Generall History Lib 2. Cap. 2. 28. S. 4. T 3.

And although the uncertainty of tenure, by which all worldly things are held, minister very unpleasant medita-

tion; yet is it most certaine that within 1200. yeares last past, all or the most of *Kingdomes* to us knowne, have throughly felt the calamities of such forcible trasplantations, being either over whelmed by new Collonies that fell upon them, or driven, as one wave is driven by an other, to seeke new seates, having lost their owne.

Our Westerne parts of *Europe* indeed have cause to rejoyce, and give praise to *God*, for that we have been free about 600 years, from such Inundations, As were those of the *Gothes*, *Humes*, and *Vandalls*, yea from such as were those of our owne Ancestors, the *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Normans*, But howsoever we have together with the feeling, lost the very memory of such wretchednesse, as our Fore-fathers endured by those Wars, of all other the most cruell. Yet are there few *Kingdomes* in all *Asia* that have not been ruined by such overflowing multitudes

tudes within the same space of these last six hundred yeares.

It were an endlesse labour to tell how the *Turks*, and *Tartars* falling like *Locusts* upon that quarter of the world, having spoiled every where, and in most places Eaten up all, as it were by the roots, Consuming together with the Princes formerly Reigning and a world of people, the very names, language and memory of former times. Suffice it that when any Country is overlaid by the multitude which live upon it, there is a naturall necessity compelling it to disburthen it self and lay the Load upon others, by right or wrong. For (to omit the danger of Pestilence often visitting those which live in a throng) there is no misery that urgeth men so violently unto desperate courses, and contempt of death, as the Torments or Threats of famine whereof the Warre that is grounded upon this generall remedilesse neces-

sity, may be tearmed the generall, the Remedilesse, or the necessary War. Against which that our Country is better provided (as may be shewed hereafter) Then any civill Nation to us knowne, we ought to hold it a great blessing of God, And carefully retaine the advantages which he hath given us now.

First Warre.

Besides this remedilesse or necessary Warre, which is frequent, There is a Warre voluntary, and Customeable, unto which the offering party is not compelled. And this Customary Warre, which troubleth all the world, giveth little respite or breathing time of peace, doth usually borrow pretence from the necessary to make it self appeare more honest. For Covetous Ambition thinking all too little which presently it hath, supposeth it self to stand in need of all which it hath not.

Second Warre.

Wherefore if two bordering Princes

ces have their Territory meeting on an open Champaigne, the more mighty will continually seeke occasion, to extend his limits unto the further border thereof.

If they be divided by Mountaines they will fight for the mastery of the passages of the Tops, And finally for the Towns that stand upon the roots.

If Rivers run between them, they contend for the Bridges, And thinke themselves not well assured untill they have fortified the further banck.

Yea the Sea it selfe must be very broad, barren of fish, and void of little Islands interjacent, else will it yeild plentifull argument of quarrell to the Kingdomes which it severeth.

All this proceeds from desire of having, and such desire from feare of want.

Hereunto may be added, That in these Arbitrary Wars, there is commonly to be found, some small mea-

sure of necessity, though it seldome be observed, perhaps, because it extendeth not so far, as to become publique. For where many younger sonnes of younger Brothers, have neither Lands nor means to uphold themselves, and where many men of Trade or usefull possessions, know not how to bestow themselves for lack of Imployments, there can it not be avoided that the whole body of the State (howsoever otherwise healthfully disposed) should suffer anguish by the greivance of those ill affected Members.

It sufficeth not that the Country hath wherewith to susteine even more then live upon it, if means be wanting, whereby to drive convenient participation of the generall store unto a great number of well deservers.

In such cases there will be complaining, Commiseration, and finally murmur (as men are apt to lay the blame of those evills whereof they know the ground

ground upon publike miſgovernment) unleſſe order be taken for ſome redreſſe by the ſword of Injury, ſuppoſed to be done by Forreigners, whereto the diſcontented ſort give commonly a willing eare. And in this caſe I think it was, that the great Cardinall *Francis de Amiens* who governed *Spaine* in the minority of *Charls* the fift, hearing tell that 8000. *Spaniards* were loſt in the enterpriſe of *Algier*, under *Don Diego de Vera*, made light of the matter: Affirming, that *Spaine* ſtood in need of ſuch evacuation, forreigne Warre ſerving (as King *Fardinard* had been wont to ſay) like a potion of *Rubarbe*, to waſh away Choler from the body of the Realme.

Certainly among all Kingdomes of the earth, we ſhall ſcarce find any that ſtands in leſſe need then *Spaine*, of having the veines opened by an enemies ſword: The many Colonies which it ſends abroad ſo well preſerving

ving it from ſwelling humors.

Yet is not that Country thereby diſpeopled, but mainteineth ſtill growing upon it (like a tree, from whoſe plants to fil a whole *Orchard*,) have bin taken as many, as it can well nouriſh.

And to ſay what I think, if our King *Edward* the third, had proſpered in his French Wars and peopled with Engliſh the Towns which he won, As he began at *Calice* driving out the *French*, the Kings his Succeſſors, holding the ſame courſe would by this time have filled all *France*, with our Nation, without any notable emptying of this Iſland.

7:30:68

The like may be affirmed upon like ſuſpition of the *French* in *Italy*, or almoſt of any others, as having been verified by the *Saxons* in *England*, and *Arabians* in *Barbarie*; What is then become of ſo huge a multitude as would have over ſpread a great part of the Continent? ſurely they dyed not

of

of old age, nor went out of the world by the ordinary wayes of nature. But famine and contagious diſeaſes, the ſword, the halter, and a thouſand miſchiefs have Conſumed them.

Yea many of them perhaps were never borne: for they that want means to nouriſh Children will abſtaine from marriage, or (which is all one) they caſt away their bodies upon rich old women: or otherwiſe make unequall or unhealthy Matches for gaine, or becauſe of poverty they thinke it a bleſſing, which in nature is a curſe, to have their wives barren.

Were it not thus, *Arithmeticall* progreſſion might eaſily demonſtrate, how faſt mankind would increaſe in multitude, overpaſſing as miraculous (though indeed naturall) that example of the *Iſraelites*, who were multiplyed in 215. yeares, from ſeaventie unto 600000. able men. Hence we may obſerve, that the very propagation of our kind,

kind, hath with it a strong insensive, even of those daily Wars, which afflict the earth. And that Princes excusing their drawing the sword by devised pretences of necessity, speake often more truly then they are aware, there being indeed a great necessity, though not apparent, as not extending to the generality, but resting upon private heads.

Wherefore other cause of Warre meerly naturall there is none, then want of roome upon the earth, which pinching a whole nation, begets the remediesse Warre, vexing only some number of particulars, It draws on the Arbitrary: But unto the kindling of Arbitrary Warre, there are many other motives. The most honest of these is, feare of harme and prevention of danger. This is just and taught by nature, which labours more strongly in removing evill, then in pursuite of what is requisite unto her good.

Never-

Nevertheless, because Warre cannot be without mutuall violence: It is manifest, that allegation of danger and feare serves only to excuse the suffering part, the wrong doer being carried by his owne will. So the Warre thus caused proceeds from nature, not altogether but in part.

A second motive is, Revenge of injury susteined; This might be avoided if all men could be honest; otherwise not. For Princes must give protection to their Subjects and adherents, when worthy occasion shall require it, else will they be held unworthy, and unsufficient: then which there can be to them no greater perill.

Wherefore *Cæsar* in all deliberations where difficulties and dangers threatned on the one side, and the opinion that there should be in him *Parum Præsidii* little safeguard, for his friends, was doubted on the other side, alwayes chose rather to venture upon extrea-

extreamities then to have it, thought that he was a weake protector. Yea by ſuch maintenance of their dependants, Many Noblemen in all formes of Government, and in every mans memory have kept themſelves in greatneſſe with little help of any other vertue. Neither have meere Tyrants been altogether careleſſe to mainetaine free from oppreſſion of ſtrangers, thoſe Subjects of theirs, whom themſelves have moſt baſely eſteemed and uſed, as no better then ſlaves. For there is no maſter that can expect good ſervice from his bondſlaves, if he ſuffer them to be beaten and daily ill intreated by other men: To remedy this, it were needfull that Juſtice ſhould every where bee duly miniſtred aſwell to ſtrangers as to *Denizons*. But contrariewiſe we find, that in many Countreys (as *Muſcovie* and the like) the Laws or the Adminiſtration of them are ſo far from giving ſatisfaction, as they

fill

fill the generall voice with complaint and exclamation.

Sir *Thomas Moore* ſaid, (whether more pleaſantly or truely I know not) that a trick of Law had no leſſe power then the wheele of fortune, to lift men up, or caſt them downe.

Certainly with more patience men are wont to endure the loſſes that befell them by meere caſualty, then the damages which they ſuſteine by means of injuſtice, Becauſe theſe are accompanied with ſenſe of indignity, whereof the other are free: when Robbers break open a mans houſe and ſpoile it, they tell the owner plainly that money they want, and money they muſt have: But when a Judge corrupted by reward, hatred, favour, or any other paſſion, takes both houſe and Land from the rightfull owner, And beſtowes them upon ſome friend of his owne, or of his favorite, He ſaies, that the rules of Juſtice will have it ſo, that it is the voice

voice of the Law, the Ordinance of God himselfe. And what else doth he herein, then by a kind of Circumlocution tell his humble suppliants that he holds themselves Idiots or base wretches not able to get releife; must it not astonish and vex withall, any man of a free spirit when he sees none other difference betweene the Judge and the Theefe, then in the manner of performing their exploits? as if the whole being of Justice consisted in point of formality. In such case an honest Subject will either seeke remedy by ordinary courses, or awaite his time untill God shall place better men in office, and call the oppressors to account. But a stranger wil not so, he hath nothing to do with the affairs of *Barbary*, neither concerns it him what officer be placed or displaced in *Taradante*, or whether *Mulisidian* himselfe can contemne the Kingdome, his Ship and goods are unjustly taken from him, and

and therefore he will seeke leave to right himselfe if he can, and returne the injury ten fold, upon the whole Nation from which he received it. Truth it is, that men are sooner weary to dance attendance at the Gates of forreigne Lords, then to tarry the good leisure of their own Magistrates; Nor doe they beare so quietly the losse of some parcell confiscated abroad, as the greater detriment which they suffer by some prowling *Vice-Admirall*, *Customer*, or publique minister at their returne.

Whether this proceed from the Reverence which men yeild unto their proper Governour, I will not here define, or whether excesse of trouble in following their causes far from home, or whether from despaire of such redresse, as may be expected in their owne Country, in the hoped reformations of disorders, or whether from their more unwillingnesse to disturbe

the Domeſticall then the forreigne quiet by loud exclamations, or whether perhaps their not daring to mutter againſt the Injuſtice of their owne Rulers, though it were ſhameſull, for feare of faring worſe, and of being puniſhed for *Scandalum Magnatum*: As ſlanderers of men in authority, whereſoever it comes; As there can be but one Allegeance, ſo men are apt to ſerve no more then they needs muſt. According to that of the Slave in an old Comœdie: *Non ſum ſervus publicus*, my Maſter bought me for himſelf, and I am not every mans man.

And this opinion, there is no Prince unwilling to mainetaine in his owne Subjects. Yea ſuch as are moſt Rigorous to their owne, Doe never find it ſafe to be better unto ſtrangers, becauſe it were a matter of dangerous Conſequence, that the People ſhould thinke all other Nations to be in better caſe then themſelves. The breife

is,

is, Oppression in many places weares the Robes of Justice, which Domineering over the naturalls, may not spare strangers, And strangers will not endure it, but cry out unto their owne Lords for releife by the Sword. Wherefore the Motive of Revenging Injuries is very strong, though it meerly consist in the will of man, without any inforcement of nature.

Yet the more to quicken it, there is usually concurrent therewith, A hopefull expectation of gaine. For of the amends recovered, Little or nothing returns to those that had suffered the wrong, but commonly all runs into the Princes Coffers. Such examples as was that of our late Queen *Elizabeth* of most famous memory, are very rare. Her Majestie when the goods of our English Merchants were attached by the Duke of *Alva*, in the *Netherlands*, And by King *Philip* in *Spaine*, arrested, *Anno Domini* 1569.

Likewiſe the goods of the *Low dutch* here in *England*, that amounted unto a greater value: Neither was ſhe contented that her Subjects ſhould right themſelves aſwell as they could, upon the *Spaniards* by Sea, But having brought King *Philip* within toure or five years, to better reaſon, though not ſo far as to Reſtitution; She ſatisfied her owne Merchants to the full, for all their loſſes out of the *Dutchmens* goods, and gave back to the Duke what was remayning. This among many thouſand of her Royall Actions, that made her glorious in all Nations, though it cauſed even ſtrangers in their ſpeech and writing to extoll her Princely Juſtice, to the skies: yet ſerved it not as a Preſident for others of leſſe vertue to follow.

Anno. 1573.

It were more coſtly to take patterne from thoſe Acts, which gave Immortall renowne to that great Queen, then

to

to imitate the thirſty dealing of that *Spaniſh Duke*, in the ſelf ſame buſines, who kept all to his owne uſe, or his Maſters, Reſtoring to the poore *Dutch* Merchants not one penny. It falls out many times indeed, that a Prince is driven to ſpend far more of his treaſure in puniſhing by War the wrongers of his people, Then the loſſe of his People did amount unto. In ſuch caſes it is reaſon, that he ſatisfy himſelf, and let the people (whereto commonly they are apt) reſt contented with the ſweetneſſe of revenge.

But when victory makes large amends for all, it Royally becomes a Prince, to ſatisfy thoſe for whoſe ſatisfaction he undertooke the Warre. For beſides the purpoſe it were now, to teach how victory ſhould be uſed, or the gaines thereof Communicated to the generall content. This being only brought into ſhew, that the profit thereby gotten, is a ſtirring pro-

vocation to the redreſſe of Injuries by the ſword. As for the redreſſe of Injuries done unto Princes themſelves, it may conveniently (though not alwayes, for it were miſerable injuſtice to deny leave to Princes of mainetaining their owne honour) be referred unto the third motive, of Arbitrary Warres, which is meere Ambition.

This is and ever hath been that true cauſe of more Wars, then have troubled the world upon all other occaſions whatſoever, though it leaſt partake of nature, or urgent neceſſity of State. I call not here alone by the name of Ambition, that vaine glorious humour, which openly profeſſeth to be none other, and vaunts it ſelfe as an imperiall vertue (for the examples are not many of that kind:) But where occaſion of Warre is greedily ſought, or being very ſlight is gladly entertained, for that increaſe of Dominion

is hoped thereby, we ſhould rather impute the Warre to the ſcope at which it aimeth: then to any idle cauſe pretended.

The *Romans* feared leſt they of of *Carthage* by winning *Meſſana* ſhould ſoone get the maſtery over all *Sicilie*, And have a faire entrance at pleaſure into *Italy*: Which to prevent they made a Warre upon the *Carthaginians*; this feare I call Ambition, Had they not truſted in their own Armes, hoping thereby to enlarge their empire, but being weaker, and more afraid indeed, they would have feared leſſe.

For Colour of this Warre they tooke the *Mamertines*, A Crewe of Theeves, and cut throats into their protection; Whom being their aſſociats they muſt needs defend. But had not their Ambition been mightier then their Juſtice, they would have endeavoured to puniſh theſe *Mamer-*

tines, and not to protect them. Innumerable are the like examples: *Know ye not* (said *Ahab*) *that Ramoth Gilead is ours*? He knew this before, and was quiet enough, till opinion of his forces, made him looke into his right. And of this nature (though some worse then other in degree) are claims of old forgotten tribute or of some acknowledgements due perhaps to the Ancestors of a vanquished *King*, And long after challenged by the Heirs of the *Conqueror*, broken titles to *Kingdomes* or Provinces, Mainetenance of friends, and Partizans, pretenced wrongs, and indeed, whatsoever it pleased him to alleadge that thinketh his owne sword sharpest: But of old time (perhaps before *Helen* of *Greece*, was borne) Women have been the common Argument of these Tragedies. As of late Ages in our parts of the world, since the names of *Guelf*, and *Ghibeline*, were heard, The right of

of St. *Peter*, that is the Popes Revenews and Authority.

This last and other of the same kind I know not, how patiently they will endure to be ranged among Ambitions quarrels: For the Warre that hath such foundation, will not only be reputed, free from worldly Ambition, Just, and honourable, But holy, and meritorious: having thereto belonging Pardon of Sins, Release from Purgatory, And the promises of the life to come, As may be seen in the *Popes Crociata*.

The truth is, that the *Saracenes*, affirme no lesse of the Warres, which either they make against *Christians*, or which arise between themselves from difference of Sect. And if every man had his due, I thinke the honour of devising first this Doctrine: That *Religion* ought to be inforced upon men by the sword, would be found appertaining to *Mahomet* the false *Prophet*, sure,

sure, it is, that he and the *Caliphes* following him obteined thereby in a short space a mighty Empire, which was in faire way to have inlarged, untill they fell out among themselves. Not for the *Kingdome* of *Heaven*, But for *Dominion* upon *Earth*. And against these did the *Popes*, when their authority grew powerfull in the *West*, incite the *Princes* of *Germany*, *England*, *France*, and *Italie*. Their chiefe enterprise was the Recovery of the *Holy Land*. In which worthy, but extreamely difficult action, it is lamentable to Remember, what abundance of noble *Blood* hath been shed, with very small benefit unto the Christian State.

The Recovery of *Spaine* (whereof the better part was then in Bondage of the *Saracens*,) had been a worke more availeable to the men of *Europe*, more easily mainetained with supply, more aptly serving to advance any following

lowing enterprise upon *Kingdomes* further removed, more free from hazard, and Requiring lesse expence of Blood. But the honourable piety of the undertakers could not be terrified by the face of danger, nor diverted from this to a more commodious businesse, by any motives of profit or facility, for the Pulpits did sound in every Parish *Church* with the praises of that voyage, as if it were a matter, otherwise far lesse highly pleasing unto *God*, to beare Armes for defence of his truth against prosecutors, or for the Deliverance of poore *Christians* oppressed with slavery, then to fight for that selfe same Land, wherein our Blessed *Saviour* was borne and Dyed: By such perswasions a marvellous number were excited to the Conquest of *Palestina* which with singular vertue they performed (though not without exceeding great losse of men) and held that *Kingdome* some few generations.

But

But the Climate of *Syria*, the far diſtance from the ſtrength of *Chriſtendome*, And the neer Neighbourhood of thoſe that were moſt puiſſant among the *Mahometans*, cauſed that famous enterpriſe, after a long continuance of terrible War, to be quite abandoned.

The care of *Jeruſalem* being laid aſide, it was many times thought needfull to repreſſe the growing power of the *Turke* by the joint forces of all *Chriſtian Kings* and Commonwealths, And hereto the *Popes* have uſed much perſwaſion and often publiſhed their *Crociata* with pardon of ſins to all that would adventure in a worke ſo Religious. Yet have they effected little or nothing, and leſſe perhaps are ever like to doe. For it hath been their Cuſtome ſo ſhamefully to miſuſe the fervent zeale of men to Religious Armes by converting the Monies, that have been Leavyed

vyed for ſuch Wars, to their owne ſervices, and by ſtirring up *Chriſtians* one againſt an other, yea againſt their owne naturall *Princes*, under the like pretences of ſerving *God* and the *Church*, that finally men waxed weary of their turbulent ſpirits, And would not believe that *God* was carefull to mainetaine the *Pope* in his quarrells, or that Remiſſion of ſins paſt, was to be obteined by Committing more and more grievous, at the inſtigation of his ſuſpected holineſſe.

Queſtionleſſe there was great reaſon, why all diſcreet *Princes* ſhould beware of yeilding haſty beliefe to the Robes of Sanctimonie.

It was the Rule of our Bleſſed *Saviour*, *By their works you ſhall know them*, what the works of thoſe that occupied the *Papacie*, have been ſince the dayes of *Pepin* and *Charlemaine* who firſt enabled them with Temporall donation, The *Italian* writers have

have testified at large. Yet were it needlesse to Cite *Machiavell*, who hath Recorded their doings, and is therefore the more hatefull, or *Guicciardine*, whose works they have gelded, as not enduring to heare all that he hath written, though he spake enough in that which remains. What History shall we Read (excepting the *Annales* of *Cæsar Baronius*, And some books of *Fryars*, or *Fryarly Parasites*) which mentioning their Acts doe not leave witnesse of their ungodly dealing in all quarters.

How few *Kingdomes* are there (if any) wherein by dispensing with others, transferring the right of *Crowns*, Absolving Subjects from alleageance, and cursing or threatning to curse as long as their curses were regarded, they have not wrought unprobable mischiefs?

The shameleſſe denyall hereof by some of their friends, And the more shameleſſe justification by their flatterers,

terers, makes it needfull to exemplifie, which I had rather forbeare, as not loving to deale in such contentious arguments, were it not follie to be modest in uttering what is knowne to all the world. Pitty it is, that by such demeanour they have caused the *Church* (as *Hierome Savanarola*, and before him *Robert Grosthead* Bishop of *Lincolne* propheciedi) to be reformed by the sword. But God would have it so. How farre the *Popes* blessing therefore did sanctifie the enterprise upon *Jerusalem* it rests in every mans discretion to Judge.

As for the honourable *Christians* which undertooke that conquest to justifie their Warre, they had not only the redresse of injuries and protection of their oppressed Brethren, But the repelling of danger from their owne Land, threatned by those misbeleivers when they invaded.

If the *Popes* extortions (which were not

not more forcible then thoſe of *Peters* the *Hermits*) added ſpirit unto the action: yet altered they not the grounds of the Warre, nor made it the more holy. Let the Indulgences of *Pope Leo*, the tenth, beare witneſſe of this, who out of politick feare of the *Turkes* violence urged a Religious contribution towards a Warre to be made upon them. The neceſſity of that which hee propounded was greater doubtleſſe then any that had perſwaded the Conqueſt of *Paleſtina*.

But too foule and manifeſt was the unholineſſe of obtruding upon men Remiſſion of ſins for money, That the Sums which *Pope Leo* thereby raiſed and converted to his owne uſes, have made his Succeſſers looſers by the bargaine even to this day.

Pius the Second, formerly well knowne by the name of *Aeneas Silvius*, was diſcernedly reckoned among the few good *Popes* of latter ages, who

who nevertheleſſe in a Warre of the ſame Religious nature, diſcovered the like (though not the ſame) imperfection.

His purpoſe was to ſet upon *Mahomet* the great, who had newly won the *Empire* of *Conſtantinople* and by carrying the Warre over into *Greece*, to prevent the danger, threatning *Italie*.

In this action highly Commendable, he intended to hazard his owne perſon, that ſo the more eaſily hee might win adventurers, who elſe were like to be leſſe forward, as not unacquainted with ſuch Romiſh tricks; Yet was not his owne devotion, ſo zealous in purſuit of this holy buſineſſe, but that he could ſtay a while, and convert his forces, againſt *Malateſti* Lord of *Rimini*, letting, *Scanderbeg* waite his Leiſure, who had already ſet the Warre on foote in *Greece*. For (ſaid he) we firſt ſubdue the little

Turke, before we medle with the great, He ſpake reaſon if we regard policy. But attending one to Religion find we not, that he held the Chaſtiſement of one which moleſted the Sea of *Rome*, a like pleaſing to *God*, as would have been the holy *Warre*, againſt the Common Enemy of our Chriſtian Faith? So thought all the reſt of thoſe *Biſhops*. And ſo much more (upon their ſeverall occaſions) declared themſelves to thinke it, by how much they were commonly worſe men then this *Aeneas Silvius*. And good reaſon was there that they ſhould be of ſuch beliefe, or Endeavour to make the Chriſtian world believe none otherwiſe. For the naturall Conſtitution of their eſtate (I meane ſince the age of *Pepin* and *Charlmaine*, or the times not long foregoing, hath urged them all hereto; though peradventure ſome few *Popes* may have been overlewd, by their own pri-

vate

ptivate natures, and thereby have ſwarved from the rule of policy. To ſpeake in generall, whoſoever hath dominion abſolute, over ſome, and authority leſſe abſolute over many more, will ſeeke to draw thoſe that are not wholy his owne into intire ſubjection.

It fares with politick bodies as with the phyſicall; each would convert all into their owne proper ſubſtance, and caſt forth as Excrement what will not ſo be changed.

We need not Cite *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, nor *Philip* the Father of *Perſeus*, Kings of *Macedon* for examples. Of which the former brought the *Theſſalians*, the latter would have brought the *Acheans* and many eſtates in *Greece* from the condition of followers and dependants unto meer vaſſallage.

Philip the ſecond of *Spaine* is yet freſh in mind, who attempted the ſelf ſame upon the *Netherlands*.

Exceptions may be framed here againſt one, of the honeſt, quiet, or timerous diſpoſition of ſome Princes, yet that all, or the moſt are thus inclined, both reaſon and experience teach: yea even our Cities and Corporations here in *England*, ſuch as need the protection of great Men, Complaine otherwhiles of their patrons overmuch diligence, either in ſearching into their private eſtates, or behaving themſelves maſter-like in point of government, But never hath authority better means to enlarge it ſelf, then when it is founded upon devotion. And yet never doth authority of this kind, worke to raiſe it ſelf unto meere dominion, untill it fall into the hands of thoſe whoſe piety is more in ſeeming, then indeed.

The *Leviticall Prieſts*, in the old Law never arrogated unto themſelves, any Temporall or Coactive power Nor advanced their Miters againſt the

Crowne

Crowne of *Israel*. They well understood what authority God had committed unto them and rested therewithall content. Some wrangling hereabout hath been of late; The *Popes* flatterers labouring to prove, That the high *Priests* of old were not meerly Subject unto the Kings of *Juda*, and men of better spirit and learning having shewed the contrary.

But whatsoever befell in those dayes, when there was no King in *Israel*, that is, before the Reigne of *Saul*, or after the Captivity of *Babel*, sure it is that the sons of *Aaron* were alwaies obedient unto the sons of *David*, And acknowledged them their Lords. As for the race of the *Maccabees*, that held both the *Kingdome* and the *Priesthood* at once, It falls not within this Consideration; the first thereof (of whom I read) that used the advantage of honour given to him in matter of Religion towards the

getting of Temporal possession, was (if not *Mahomet* himselfe) *Abubachar* the Successor unto *Mahomet*, This man having obteined by help of his friends, the miserable happinesse of being chosen heire unto that foole Impostor in his dignity of a Prophet, made it one of his first works to dispoile poor *Aliffe* the Nephew of *Mahomet*, and heire of his great riches, taking al from him by this pretence, That unto whom belonged the Succession in wisdome, unto him also belonged the Succession in wealth. And this grew presently to be a famous question among the *Doctors* of the *Saracen* Law. But howsoever it were then decided, we see now the *Mupbti* or high Prelate, who is the only Oracle among the *Turkes* in Spirituall matters, lives and holds all that he hath at the discretion of the great *Sultan*.

Nevertheless it should seeme that the doctrine of *Abubachar*, hath not lost

loſt all force, for the examples are many in all *Saracen* Lands, of Prophets or deceivers which got that name, that never reſted untill they became Kings.

The *Seriph* in *Barbarie*, was one of the laſt: who having once acquired the opinion of an holy Man, afterward found means to become a Captain, and Lord of a ſmall Territory; And finally increaſed his followers, and withall his bounds ſo faſt and ſo far, as having made himſelf *King* of *Morocca*, he had the grace to tell the King of *Feſſy*, (lately his Soveraigne) that both *Feſſe* and all *Kingdomes* in thoſe parts were belonging to his own holineſſe; and this he made good by winning all ſooner after.

Whether the claime which the Popes laid to a Supremacie over all *Kingdomes* and eſtates, had not affinity with the principle of *Abubachar*, Let other men Judge that their practi-

ses to mainetaine it, have been sutable to those of *Seriſſo*, all Historians doe testifie.

For when *Pope Gregory* the second, procured the Citie of *Rome*, and some other places in *Italie* to Rebell against the *Emperour Leo*, the third, what other colour used he, then that himself had Excommunicated *Leo*, as an ungodly *Prince*, for breaking downe Images, that were worshipped in *Churches*, when for this treason *Paul* the *Exarch*, Leiutenant unto the *Emperour*, besieged *Rome* with the assistance of *Luitpraud* King of the *Lumbards*, by what other art did the Pope remove the siege, then by perswading the *Lumbard* with a *Tale* of *Peter*, and *Paul*, that had consecrated the Citie of *Rome* with their pretious blood. Thus was devotion made the Cloake for treason? And thus did the *Popes* first slip their necks out of the *Emperours* coller. Within very few years after

after this, by the like Religious pretext were those Princes of *France*, *Charls Martell*, *Pepine*, and *Charlemaine*, won to assist the *Papacie*, against the *Lumbards*, yea, to give unto St. *Peter*, the most of those Lands which the *Pope* now holds in *Italie*, And not restore them to the Emperour, from whom the *Lumbards* had gotten them. And thereunto *Pepine*, was perswaded for his *Souls* health.

Yet had *Pope Zachary* through the opinion that went of his *holinesse*, done a notable good office for *Pepine* before, when he Released the *Frenchmen* of their Oath to King *Chilperick*, And was the cause that *Pepine* was chosen in his stead, by saying, That rather he should be King who did the Kings duty, then he that did it not.

In like manner did *Pope Leo* recompense the benefits of *Charlemaine*, by setting him up as *Emperour* in the *west* against those of *Constantinople*: But

But in these mutuall offices, the *Popes* did only help with gracefull words to adorne that might which *Pepine* and *Charlemaine* had before acquired. *whereas* these Kings used force of arms to erect the papacy in Principallity; That was held yet in vassallage unto themselves. Now this could not satisfie the ambition of that See, which gloried falsly to be the only See Apostolique.

For as the Reputation of the *Romane* Prelats grew up in those blind ages under the *Westerne* Emperours, much faster then true *piety* could raise it, in former times when better Learning had flourished; So grew up in them withall a desire, of amplifying their power, that they might be as great in temporall forces as mens opinion have formed them in spirituall matters. Immediately therefore upon the death of *Charlemaine*, they began to neglect the *Emperours* consent in their

Elections.

Elections. And finding in them that afterwards reigned of the houſe of *France*, either too much patience or too much weakeneſſe, they were bold, within ſeaventy years to decree, That in the Creation of *Popes*, the *Emperour* ſhould have nothing at all to doe. Having obteined this, It followed that they ſhould make themſelves *Lord* over the whole Clergie in all Kingdomes.

But the worke was great, and could not be accompliſhed in haſt, for they were much diſturbed at home by the People of *Rome*; who ſeeing about Fifty Popes or rather (as mainetainers of the *Papacie*, would now have them called) Monſters to ſucceed one another, and attaine by the faction of Cut-throats, and Strumpets, St. *Peters* Chaire, deſpiſed that hypocriſy, which the world abroad did Reverence as holineſſe.

Likewiſe the *Empire* falling from the

the line of *Charles*, to the mighty house of *Saxonie*, was so strongly upheld by the first Princes of that race, as it greatly curbed the ambition of those aspiring Prelats.

Yet no impediment could alwaies be of force to withstand the violence of seeming sanctity.

The *Polonians*, *Hungarians*, and some other farre removed Nations, had yeilded themselves in subjection more then meerely spirituall, even to those Popes whom *Italie* knew to be detestable men.

As for the *Romane* Citizens they were chastised by the sword, and taught to acknowledge the Pope their Lord, though they knew not by what right. Long it was indeed ere they could with much adoe be throughly tamed, Because they knowing the Lewdnesse of their Prelate and his Court, their devotion, unto him (the trade by which now they live) was very small.

Because

Because also they were the Popes domesticall forces, against which no Prince doth happily contend. But finally the Popes Armes prevailed, or when his owne were too weake, the *Emperours* and other friends were helping. Contrariwise against *Emperours* and other Princes, the sword of the people even of their owne Subjects hath been used by reaching all *Christians* in our Westerne world a false Lesson. That it is lawfull and meritorious to rebell against Kings excommunicated and deposed by the Pope. This curse was first laid upon the *Emperour*, *Henry* the fourth by *Pope Hildebrand* or *Gregory* the seaventh. It is true (as I said before) that *Leo* of *Constantinople* had felt the same though not in the same sort. For *Leo* being excommunicated was not withall deposed; only he suffered a revolt of some *Italian* Subjects. And one may say, That the *Germane* Empire deserved

deserved this plague, Since the founder thereof had given countenance to the Popes Rebelling against their Soveraigns the *Emperours* of *Constantinople*. Howsoever it were when *Hildebrand* had accursed and cast downe from his throne *Henry* the fourth, there were none so hardy as to defend their Injured Lord, against the Counterfeited name of St. *Peter*; Wherefore he was faine to humble himselfe before *Hildebrand*, upon whom he waited three daies beare footed in the *Winter* ere he could be admitted into his presence, Neither yet could he otherwise get absolution, then by submitting his estate unto the *Popes* good pleasure, what was his fault? He had refused to yeild up to the *Pope*, the investiture of Bishops, and Collation of Ecclesiasticall dignities within his dominions, a right that had alwayes belonged to Princes untill that day.

It were superfluous to tell how grievously

vouſly he was afflicted all his life after; Notwithſtanding this ſubmiſſion. In breife the unappeaſable rage of *Hildebrand* and his Succeſſors, never left perſecuting him, by raiſing one Rebellion after an other; yea his owne Children againſt him, till diſpoyled of his *Crowne*, he was faine to beg food of the Biſhop of *Spyers*, promiſing to earne it in a *Church* of his own building, by doing there a Clarks duty, for he could ſerve the *Quire*, And not obteining this, he pined away and dyed.

That Biſhop of *Spyers* dealt herein perhaps rather fearfully, then cruelly, For he had to terrifie him, the example of *Vteilo Archbiſhop* of *Mentz* chiefe Prelate among the *Germans*. Who was condemned of hereſie, for having denyed that the *Emperour* might be deprived of his *Crowne* by the Popes authority.

If Princes therefore be carefull to exclude

exclude the doctrine of *Hildebrand* out of their dominions, who can blame them of rigour?

This example of *Henry* though it would not be forgotten, might have been omitted, had it not been seconded with many of the same nature.

But this was neither one Popes fault, nor one Princes destiny; He must write a story of the Empire, that means to tell of all their dealings in this kind, As how they wrought upon *Henry* the fifth, whom they had set up against his Father, what horrible effusion of Blood they caused, by their often thundering upon *Fredericke*, And how they rested not untill they had made the *Empire* stand headlesse about seaventeene years.

These things moved *Rodolph* Earl of *Habspurgh* who was chosen Emperour after that long vacation to refuse the Ceremony of being *Crowned* at *Rome*, though he were therero urged by the Electors.

Electors. For (ſaid he) our *Cæſars*, have gone to *Rome*, As the fooliſh Beaſts in *Æſops Fables* went, to the *Lyons* Den leaving very goodly footſteps of their journey thitherward, but not the like of their returne.

The ſame opinion have moſt of the ſucceeding Emperours held, all of them, or almoſt all neglecting that *Coronation*. Good cauſe why; Since the Popes (beſides many Extortions which they practiſed about that Ceremony) Arrogated thence unto themſelves, that the *Empire* was held of them in Homage, And dealt they not after the ſame faſhion with other Kingdomes?

What right had St. *Peter* to the *Crowne* of *Sicily*, and of *Naples*? The *Romane* Princes wonne thoſe Lands from the *Saracens*, who had formerly taken them from the Empire of *Conſtantinople*; The ſame *Romanes* had alſo been mighty defenders of the Pa-

pacy in many dangers, yet when time ſerved, the Pope tooke upon him, as Lord *Paramount* of thoſe Countryes, to drive out one King, and ſet up another, with a Bloody confuſion of all *Italie*; retaining the Soveraignty to himſelf.

In *France*, he had the daring to pronounce himſelfe ſuperiour unto the King in all matters both Spirituall and Temporall.

The *Crowne* of *Poland* he forced to hold of his *Miter* by impoſing a ſubjection in way of penance. For that the *Poliſh* King had cauſed one St. *Staniſlaus* to be ſlaine.

For the death of St. *Thomas Beckett* and (more ſtrangely) for a Refuſall of an *Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury* whom his *Holineſſe* had appointed, he impoſed the like penance upon *England*.

Alſo when our King *Edward* the *Firſt*, made Warre upon the Scots, word came from *Rome* that he ſhould ſurceaſe;

surcease: for that the *Kingdome* of *Scotland* belonged unto the Popes Chappell.

A great oversight it was of St. *Peter*, that he did not accurse *Nero*, and all heathen *Princes*, whereby the Popes Chappell might have gotten all that the *Devill* offered, and our *Saviour* refused. Yet what need was there of such a banne: Since *Fryar Vincent* of *Valnarda* could tell *Atatalipa* King of *Peru*: That all the *Kingdomes* of the Earth were the *Popes*, who had bestowed more then halfe thereof upon the King of *Spaine*. If the *Pope* will have it so, it must be so; otherwise I should have interpreted that place in *Genesis*, *Increase and multiply and fill the Earth*, As spoken to *Noah*, and his Children, not as directed only to *Tubal*, *Homer*, and *Phatto*, the supposed Fathers of the old *Iberians*, *Gothes*, and *Moores*, of whom the Spanish blood is compounded. But of such impu-

dent preſumption in diſpoſing of countryes farre remote, And whereto the ſword muſt acquire a better title, the miſchiefe is not preſently diſcerned.

It were well if his *Holineſſe* had not loved to ſet the world in an uproare by nouriſhing of War, among thoſe that reſpected him as a Common Father.

His diſpenſing with oaths taken for agreement between one King and another, or between Kings and Subjects, doe ſpeake no better of him. For by what right was it, That *Fardinand* of *Arragon* won the *Kingdome* of *Navar*? why did not the Confederacie, that was between *Lewis* the Twelfth of *France*, and the *Venetians* hinder that King from warring upon *Venice*? why did not the like between *England*, and *France*, hinder our King *Henry* the eighth for warring upon the ſame King *Lewis*?

Was it not the Pope who did ſet on

on the French, to the end that himſelf might get *Ravenna* from the *Venetians*? Why was it not the ſame *Pope*, who afterwards (upon deſire to drive the French out of *Italie*) excommunicated *Lewis*, and his adherents? By vertue of which Excommunication *Fardinand* of *Arragon* ſeized upon *Navarr*.

And ſerved not the ſame Warrant to ſet our *Henry* upon the back of *France*? But this was not our Kings fault more then all the peoples. We might with ſhame confeſſe it, (if other Countries had not been as blindly ſuperſtitious as our Fathers) That a Barque of Apples bleſſed by the Pope, and ſent hither for preſents unto thoſe that would be forward in the War upon *France*, made all our Engliſh haſty to take Armes, in ſuch ſort as the *Italians* wondred, and laughed to ſee our men, no leſſe greedy of thoſe Apples (then *Eve*, was of the forbidden fruit) for which they were

to hazard their lives in an unjuſt War. Few ages have wanted ſuch and more grievous examples of the *Popes* tumultuous diſpoſition, but theſe were amongſt the laſt that fell out before his unholineſſe was detected. Now for his diſpenſing betweene Kings and their Subjects, we need not ſeeke inſtances far from home.

He abſolved our King *John* of an oath, given to his Barons and people. The Barons and people he afterwards diſcharged of their alleageance to King *John*.

King *Henry* the *third*, had appeaſed this Land (how wiſely I ſay not) by taking ſuch an oath, as his Father had done; ſwearing as he was a Knight, A *Chriſtian*, and a *King*. But in a Sermon at *Paules*, People were taught how little was to be repoſed on ſuch aſſurance, the Popes diſpenſation being there openly read, which pronounced that Oath voyde. Good cauſe why.

For

For that King had the patience to live, like neither Knight, nor King, But as the Popes Tenant, and Rent-gatherer of *England*. But when the same King adventured to murmure, the Pope could threaten to teach him his duty with a vengeance. And make him know, what it was to winch and play the *Fredericke*.

Thus we see what hath been his Custome to oppresse Kings by their people, And the people by their Kings, yet this was for serving his owne turne.

Wherein had our King *Henry* the *sixt* offended him (which King Pope *Julius* would after for a little money have made a Saint) Nevertheless, the Popes absolving of *Rich*: Duke of *Yorke* from that honest oath, which he had given by mediation of all the Land to that good King occasioned both the Dukes and the Kings ruine. And therewithal those long and cruell

Wars betweene the Houſes of *Lancaſter*, and *Yorke*, and brought all *England* into an horrible Combuſtion. What he meant by this, I know not, unleſſe to verifie the Proverbe; *Omnia Romæ venalia*, I will not urge the diſpenſation, whereby the Pope releaſed King *Philip*, the ſecond of *Spaine*, from the ſolemne Oath by which he was bound to maintaine the priviledges of the *Netherlands*, though this Papall indulgence, hath ſcarce as yet left working, And been the cauſe of ſo many hundred thouſands ſlaine, for this laſt forty years in the *Netherlands*.

Neither will I urge the Pope encouraging of *Henry* the ſecond, and his ſons, to the laſt of them againſt the *French* Proteſtants, the cauſe of the firſt three Civill Warres, And laſtly of the Leavyings of *Byrons*, in which there hath periſhed no leſſe number, then in the Low-Countryes.

For

For our Country it affords an example of freſh memory, ſince we ſhould have had as furious Warre, as ever both upon us, and amongſt us, in the daies of our late famous Soveraigne Queene *Elizabeth*, if Pope *Pius* his Bull, Could have gored, aſwell as it could Bellow.

Therefore it were not amiſſe to anſwer by a *Herald*, the next Pontificall attempt of like nature, rather ſending defiance (as to an enemy) then publiſhing anſwers as to one that had here to doe, though indeed he had never here to doe (by any lawfull power) either in Civill or Eccleſiaſticall buſineſſe, after ſuch time as *Brittaine* was won from the *Romane* Empire.

For howſoever it were ordered in ſome of the firſt holy generall Councills, that the Biſhop of *Rome*, ſhould be *Patriarch* over theſe quarters, yea; or it were ſuppoſed that the forged *Canons*, by which he now challengeth

more

more then precedency, and primacie, had also been made indeed: yet could this little help his claime in *Kingdomes*, that hold not of the Empire. For those right holy Fathers, as in matters of Faith, they did not make truth, But religiously expounded it: so in matters of Ecclesiasticall Government, they did not create provinces for themselves; But ordered the Countries which they then had.

They were assemblies of all the Bishops in the *Romane* world, and with the *Romane* dominion only they medled. Requisite it is that the faith which they taught should be imbraced in all Countryes, As it ought likewise to be entertained, if the same had been in like sort illustrated, not by them, but by a generall Councill of all Bishops in the great Kingdome of the *Abissines*, which is thonght to have been Christian even in those daies.

But it was not requisite, nor is, that the

the Biſhops of *Abiſſines*, or of *India*, ſhould live under direction of the *Patriarch* of *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*.

Queſtionleſſe, thoſe godly Fathers of the *Nicene*, And of the *Calcedonian* Councill ſo thought. For they tooke not upon them to order the *Church* Government in *India*, where St. *Thomas* had preached, nor to range the Subjects of *Preſter John* (as we call him) under any of themſelves; much leſſe to frame an *Hierarchie* upon earth, whereto men of all Nations whatſoever ſhould be ſubject in Spirituall obedience.

If *Conſtantine* or his Succeſſors the *Romane* Emperours could have wonne all *Aſia*: like it is that in Councils following more *Patriarchs* would have been ordeined for the Eccleſiaſticall Government of that large continent, and not all thoſe vaſt Countryes have beene left unto him of *Antioch* or *Conſtantinople*. But ſince contrariwiſe,

wise, the *Empire* became looser, the *Patriarchs* whose Jurisdiction depended upon the Empire, become loosers also.

We grant, that even in the times of persecution, before Christian Bishops durst hold open assemblies, there was given especiall honour to the Bishops that were over the chiefe Cities; That unity might the better be preserved and heresie kept out of the *Church*; But this honour was no more, then a precedence, a dignity without Coactive power, extending no further then to matter of *Religion*, And not having to doe, save in the generall way of Christian love with any strangers.

We therefore, that are no dependants of the *Empire*, ought not to be troubled with the authority (be it what it may be) with any assemblies of godly Fathers (yet all Subjects of that *Empire*, ordeined for their own better

better Government) But rather should regard the Bishop of *Rome*, As the Islanders of *Jersey*, and *Garnsey*, doe him of *Constance* in *Normandie*, that is nothing at all: since by that *French Bishops* refusall to sweare unto our King, those Isles were annexed to the Diocesse of *Winchester*.

FINIS.

Excellent Obſervations and Notes, concerning the Royall Navy and Sea-ſervice.

HAving formerly (moſt excellent Prince) diſcourſed of a Maritimall voyage, and the paſſages and incidents therein, I thinke it not impertinent nor differing from my purpoſe, to ſecond the ſame with ſome neceſſary relations concerning the Royall Navy, with the Services and Offices thereto belonging. For, as the perfection and excellency

excellency of our Shipping is great and remarkeable, ſo the imperfections and defects of the ſame by uſe and experience of late years, have been found to be divers and inconvenient, as it falls out many times in the circumſtances of Land-ſervice by the change of Armes, diverſities of Fortifications, and alteration of Diſcipline. And therefore for the due reformation, many things are neceſſarily and particularly to be ſpoken and conſidered of in their Order. In regard whereof, I will firſt begin with the Officers, and therein crave pardon (if in ſpeaking plainly and truly in a matter of ſo great importance) I doe ſet aſide all private reſpects and partiality. For in that which concerns the ſervice and benefit of my Prince

Prince and Country, I will say with *Cicero*, *Nil mihi melius, nil mihi Charius.* And therefore not justly to be taxed with any presumption for medling with matters wherein I have no dealings nor charge. For that in the affaires of this nature, every good Subject is deeply interessed, and bound in Conscience and duty both to say and doe his best.

Of the Officers of the Navy.

FIrst therefore, it were to be wished, that the Chiefe Officers under the Lord Admirall (as Vice-Admirall, Treasurer, Controller, Surveyor; and the rest) should be men of the best experience in Sea-service, aswell as of judgement and practise in the utinsells and necessaries belonging to shipping, even

Officers under the Lo: Admirall to bee men of the best experience in Sea-service.

even from the *Batts end* to the very *Kilſon* of a Ship. And that no kind of people ſhould be preferred to any of theſe offices, but ſuch as have been throughly practiſed, and be very judiciall in either kind of the above named ſervices; but we ſee it oftentimes to fall out otherwiſe. For ſometimes by the ſpeciall favour of Princes, and many times by the mediation of great men for the preferment of their ſervants, and now and then by vertue of the purſe, and ſuch like means, ſome people very raw and ignorant, are very unworthily and unfitly nominated to thoſe places, when men of deſert and ability are held back and unpreferr'd, to the great hinderance of his Majeſties ſervice, to the prejudice of the Navy, and to the no little diſcou-

diſcouragement of ancient and noble able ſervitors, when favour or partiality ſhall eat out knowledge and ſufficiency, in matters ſo neerly concerning the ſervice and ſafety of the Kingdome, wherein all private reſpects ſhould be laid apart, and vertue truly regarded for it ſelfe.

Of the building of Ships.

SEcondly, it were no leſſe behoovefull for his Majeſties ſervice, and for the ſtrength of the Navy, that no Ships ſhould be builded by the great, as divers of them have been; For by daily experience they are found be the moſt weake, imperfect, and unſerviceable Ships of all the reſt. And it is not otherwiſe to be preſumed, But as

No Ships to be builded by the great.

as the Officers would bee thought to be very frugall for his Majesty in driving a bargaine by the great at a neere rate with the Shipwright, So likewise the Shipwright on his part will be as carefull to gaine by his labour, or at least to save himselfe harmlesse, and therefore suite his worke slightly according to a slight price. Out of the which present sparing and untimely thrift, there grows many future inconveniences and continuall Charge in repayring and reedifying such imperfect slight built Vessells. The proofe and experience whereof hath been often found in new Shipps built at those rates, but so weakly, as that in their voyages, they have been ready to founder in the Seas with every Extraordinary storme

ſtorme, and at their returne been enforced to be new built. But ſeeing the Officers of the Admiralty doe hold (by the grace of his Majeſtie) places of ſo good Credit and benefit, it is their parts therefore (being well waged and rewarded for the ſame) exactly to look into the ſound building of Ships, and to imploy their care and travell aſwell in the overſight thereof, as to provide that all things elſe belonging to the Navy be good and well conditioned: For the ſtrong and true building of a Ship is not to be left barely to the fidelity of a Marchanticall Artificer (the chiefe end of whoſe worke in his owne Accompt is his profit and gaine) but ſome Superior Officer ought to have a further regard in that buſineſſe, if he be ſuch a

Officer of the Admiralti exactly look int the ſou buildin of Ship &c.

one as hath more judgement in the building and conditioning of a Ship, then devotion to his owne eaſe and profit.

Moreover if any decayed Ship be intended to be new made, it is more fit and profitable to make her a ſize leſſe then ſhe was, then bigger; For then her beams which were laid over-thwart from ſide to ſide, will ſerve againe, and moſt of her Tymbers and other parts will ſay well to the building of a new ſhip. But if ſhe ſhould be made a ſize bigger, the Tymber of the old will be unprofitable for that purpoſe; we find by experience, that the greateſt ſhips are leaſt ſerviceable, goe very deep to water and of marvellous Charge and fearefull Cumber, our Channells decaying every year. Beſides, they

The greateſt Ships leaſt ſerviceable.

are

are leſſe nimble, leſſe maineable, and very ſeldome imployed. *Grande Navio grande fatica*, ſaith the Spaniard, a ſhip of 600 Tuns will carry as good Ordnance, as a ſhip of 1200. Tuns, and though the greater have double her number, the leſſer will turne her broad ſides twice, before the greater can wend once, and ſo no advantage in that overplus of Ordnance. And in the building of all ſhips, theſe ſix things are principally required. The Spaniards phraſe.

1. Firſt, that ſhe be ſtrong built.

2. Secondly, that ſhee bee ſwift.

3. Thirdly, that ſhe be ſtout ſided.

4. Fourthly, that ſhe carry out her Guns all weather.

5. Fifthly, that ſhe hull and

try well, which we call a good Sea-ſhip.

6. Sixthly, that ſhee ſtay well, when bourding and turning on a wind is required.

1. To make her ſtrong conſiſteth in the truth of the Workeman, and the care of the Officers.

2. To make her ſayle well is to give a long run forward, and ſo afterward done by Art and juſt proportion. For as in laying out of her bows before and quarters behind, ſhe neither ſinck into, nor hang in the water, but lye cleare off and above it, And that the Shipwrights be not deceived herein (as for the moſt part they have ever been) they muſt be ſure, that the Ship ſinck no deeper into the water, then they promiſe, for otherwiſe the bow and quarter will

ation ship-ghts.

will utterly ſpoile her ſayling.

3. That ſhe bee ſtour, the ſame is provided and performed by a long bearing Floore, and by ſharing off above water even from the lower edge of the Ports.

4. To carry out her Ordnance all weather, This long bearing Floore, and ſharing off from above the Ports is a chiefe Cauſe, Provided alwayes, that your loweſt Tyre of Ordnance muſt lye foure foot cleare above water when all loading is in, or elſe thoſe your beſt pieces will be of ſmall uſe at the Sea in any growne weather that makes the Billoe to riſe, for then you ſhall be enforced to take in all your lower Ports, or elſe hazard the Ship. As befell to the *Mary Roſe* (a goodly *Mary I.* in H. 8 time.

veſſell) which in the days of King *Hen.* 8. being before the Iſle of *wight* with the reſt of the Royall Navy, to encounter the French Fleet, with a ſuddain puff of wind ſtooped her ſide, and tooke in water at her Ports in ſuch abundance, as that ſhe inſtantly ſunck downeright and many gallant men in her. The Captaine of her was Sir *George Carew* Knight, who alſo periſhed among the reſt.

5. To make her a good Seaſhip, that is to hull and trye well, there are two things ſpecially to be obſerved, the one that ſhe have a good draught of water, the other that ſhe be not overcharged, which commonly the Kings Ships are, and therefore in them we are forced to lye at trye with our maine Courſe and Miſſen, which

which with a deep keel and ſtanding ſtreake ſhe will performe.

6. The hinderance to ſtay well is the extreame length of a Ship, eſpecially if ſhe be floaty and want ſharpneſſe of way forwards, and it is moſt true, that thoſe over long Ships are fitter for our Seas, then for the Ocean, but one hundred Foot long and five and thirty Foot broad, is a good proportion for a great ſhip.

It is a ſpeciall Obſervation, that all ſhips ſharpe before, that want a long Floore, will fall roughly into the Sea and take in water over head and Ears.

Speciall obſervation.

So will all narrow quartered ſhips ſinck after the Tayle. The high charging of ſhips is it that brings them all ill qualities, makes them extreame Leeward

The high charging of Ships a principall cauſe that brings them all ill qualities.

makes them sinck deep into the water, makes them labour and makes them overset.

Ease of many Cabbins and safety at once in Sea-service not to be expected.

Men may not expect the ease of many Cabbins and safety at once in Sea-service. Two Decks and a half is sufficient to yield shelter and lodging for men and Marriners and no more charging at all higher, but only one low Cabbin for the Master. But our Marriners will say, that a Ship will beare more charging aloft for Cabbins, and that is true, if none but ordinary Marryners were to serve in them, who are able to endure, and are used to the tumbling and rowling of ships from side to side when the Sea is never so little growne. But men of better sort and better breeding would be glad to find more steadinesse and lesse tottering

tering Cadge worke. And albeit the Marriners doe covet ſtore of Cabbins, yet indeed they are but ſluttiſh Dens that breed ſickneſſe in peace, ſerving to cover ſtealths, and in Fight are dangerous to teare men with their ſplinters.

Of harbouring and placing the Navy.

THere are alſo many and great reaſons why all his Majeſties Navy ſhould not in ſuch ſort be pen'd up as they are in *Rocheſter-water*, but only in reſpect of the eaſe and commodity of the Officers, which is encountred with ſundry Inconveniences for the Sea-ſervice, the dificulty being very great to bring them in or out at times of need through ſo many Flats and

His Majeſties Navy (in ſuch ſort as they are) not to bee pend up in *Rocheſter*-water, &c.

and ſands, if wind and weather be not very favourable. Beſides, they muſt have ſundry winds to bring them to the Lands end, and to put them to the Seas, which oftentimes failes, and cauſeth delay when haſt is moſt needfull. For if any ſervice be to be done upon the South parts of *England*, as the *Wight*, *Portſmouth*, the Iſlands of *Garnſey* and *Jerſey*, or Weſtward towards *Devon*-ſhire or *Cornwall*, or towards *Wales* or *Ireland*, It is ſo long ere his Majeſties ſhipping can be brought about to recover any of theſe places, as that much miſchiefe may be done the while. For the ſame winds that bring in the Enemy, binds in our ſhipping in ſuch ſort, as that oftentimes in a months ſpace they are not able to recover the neereſt of any

Wight, *Portſmouth*, *Garnſey* and *Jerſey*, *Devonſhire* *Cornwall*, *Wales*, or *Ireland*,

any of these above named Coasts. But how perillous a course it is, is easily discerned, and as easily remedyed, seeing there are besides so many safe and good harbours to disperse and bestow some of the Navy in, where they may ever lye fit for all services, As *Portsmouth*; *Dartmouth*, *Plymouth*, *Falmouth*, *Milford* and divers others, All of them being harbours very capable and convenient for shipping. But perhaps it will be alleadged, that they cannot ride in any of these so safe from enemies as in *Rochester-water*, because it reacheth far within the Land, and is under the protection of some Blockhouses. To which I answer this, That with very easie care and provision, they may in most of these places ride sufficiently secure from any

Portsmouth, *Dartmouth*, *Plymouth*, *Falmouth*, *Milford* and divers others, Harbours very capable and convenient for Shipping.

any forraine practiſes. And I doe not meane that all the whole Navy ſhould be ſubdivided into all theſe Ports, but that ſome halfe dozen or eight of the midling ſhips, and ſome Pynnaces ſhould lye in the Weſt, and yet not in any Port ſo neere the Sea, as that in a darke night they may be endangered by enemies with fire or otherwiſe, but in ſome ſuch places as *Aſhwater* is by *Plymouth*, where an Enemy muſt run up a freſh River, a dozen miles after he hath paſſed the Forts of the Iſland, and the Alarum given, before he can come where they lye at Anchor. In which River the greateſt Charack of Portugall may ride a Float ten miles within the Forts. But if regard be only had of their ſafe keeping, and not alſo

Halfe a dozen or eight of midling Ships and ſome Pynnaces to lye in the Weſt, &c.

Aſh-water by Plymouth.

alſo of their readineſſe and fitneſſe for ſervice, then let them never be ſent abroad to be hazarded againſt the Enemies forces; for therein they ſhall be more ſubject to caſualitie and danger, then by lying in any of theſe harbours above ſpecified. But certaine it is, that theſe Ships are purpoſely to ſerve his Majeſty, and to defend the Kingdom from danger, and not to ſo be penn'd up from Caſualitie, as that they ſhould be the leſſe able or ſerviceable in times of need. And therefore that objection favours not of good reaſon, but rather of ſelfe reſpect in the Officers, who are all for the moſt part well ſeated neer about *Rocheſter*. But the ſervice of his Majeſty, and the ſafety of the Realme (in my poore opinion) ought to prevaile

vaile beyond all other respects whatsoever: and to him that casts those needlesse doubts, it may well be said, *pereat qui timet umbras.*

Of the needfull expence in manning the Navy and other inconveniences by placing all the Fleet in Rochester-water.

Nota. IF the service of the Shipping lying for any of these places above named, or for *Spaine*, or for the Islands, they are enforced of very necessity to presse the best and greatest part of their men out of the West Countries, which is no small charge in bringing them so far as between that and *Rochester*, and then when they are imbarqued

imbarqued at *Rocheſter*, their charge is againe redoubled in their pay and expence of victualls, before the Ships can recover ſo farre as *Plymouth*, which many times is long a doing, for they doe ever uſually touch at *Plymouth* in all Southerne voyages, for the furniſhing many Sea-neceſſaries, which that Country doth afford. And therefore for ſo many Ships as ſhould be there reſident, the Charges of Conduct Money for Marryners, of wages and of victualls, would be well ſaved for all that time, which is ſpent betwixt *Rocheſter* and *Plymouth*. Beſides, it were to be preſumed, that Enemies would not be ſo troubleſome to the Weſterne Coaſts, nor that Country it ſelf would be ſo often diſmayed with Alarums as they have

Charges of Conduct money for Marriners well ſaved, &c.

of

of late years been, if ſome of his Majeſties good Ships were reſident in thoſe parts. If therefore in his Majeſties wiſdome it ſhould appeare fit, to beſtow ſome of his Shipping in any of theſe Harbours aforenamed, it ſhall be very needfull likewiſe that there be a Magazin of all manner of neceſſary proviſions and Munitions in the ſame places, according to the proportion of the Shipping that there ſhall be reſident, whereby ſuch defects as by accident may fall out, ſhall upon any occaſion be readily ſupplyed without delays or hindrance of ſervice: And that withall in the ſame places, ſome Officers belonging to the Admiralty be there alwayes attendant, otherwiſe it would be found very inconvenient to be enforced ever to attend

A Magazin of all manner of neceſſary proviſions, &c.

attend ſuch helps and ſupplies as muſt come ſo far off as *London*, when it may more eaſily and with leſſe charge be effected in places where they ride.

Of great Ordnance.

His Majeſties ſhips not to be overcharged and peſtered with great Ordnance as they are.

IT was alſo very behoovefull, that his Majeſties Ships were not ſo overpeſtred and clogged with great Ordnance as they are, whereof there is ſuch ſuperfluity, as that much of it ſerves to no better uſe, but only to labour and overcharge the Ships ſides in any growne Seas and foule weather. Beſides many of the ſhips that are allowed but twenty Gunners, have forty piece of braſſe pieces, whereas every piece at leaſt requires foure Gunners to at-

tend it, And so that proportion of Ordnance to so few Gunners, very prepostterous: For when a Ship seels or roules in foule weather, the breaking loose of Ordnance is a thing very dangerous, which the Gunners can hardly prevent or well looke into, they being so few, the Gunnes so many; withall we doe see, that twenty or thirty good brasse pieces, as Cannon, Demicannon, Culverin, and Demiculverin, is a Royall Batterie for a Prince to bring before any Towne or strong Fortresse. And why should not we aswell thinke the same to be a very large proportion for one Ship to batter another withall? which if it be, then may his Majesty ratably save a great part of the Ordnance throughout every Ship, and make the Navy

Royall Batterie for a Prince.

the

the more ſufficient and ſerviceable, and thereby alſo ſave a great deale of needleſſe expence in ſuperfluous powder and ſhot, that is now prerended to be delivered out according to this huge and exceſſive proportion of Artillery, whereof if many had not been ſtricken downe into *Holt* in many voyages and (eſpecially in this laſt journey to the Iſlands) divers of the Ships, weight, Heaſt, and Charge thereof, would have foundered in the Sea: wherein I report me to ſuch as have ſerved in them, and ſaw the proofe thereof. For this journey to the Iſlands, did moſt of all others, diſcover unto us theſe experiences and tryalls in the Royall Navy, for that it was the longeſt Navigation that ever was made out of our Realme, with ſo

Needleſſe expence of ſuperfluous powder and ſhot, &c.

The journey to the Iſlands.

many of the Princes Ships, and tarrying out so late in the year, whereby both the winds and Seas had power and time throughly to search and examine them. Besides many times, there is no proportion of shot and powder allowed rateably by that quãtity of the great Ordnance, as was seen in the Sea-Battaile with the Spaniards in the yeare 88. when it so neerly concerned the defence and preservation of the Kingdome. So as then many of those great Guns wanting powder and shot, stood but as Cyphers and Scarcrowes, not unlike to the Easterling hulkes, who were wont to plant great red Port-holes in their broad sides, where they carryed no Ordnance at all.

Spaniards Armado in 88.

Easterling Hulkes.

Of

Of Calking and ſheathing his Majeſties Ships.

THere is a great error committed in the manner of Calking his Majeſties Ships, which being done with rotten Ocum, is the cauſe they are Leaky, and the reaſon is this, for that they make their Ocum wherewith they Calke the ſeams of the Ships, of old ſeere and weather-beaten ropes, when they are overſpent and growne ſo rotten, as they ſerve for no other uſe but to make rotten Ocum, which moulders and waſhes away with every Sea, as the Ships labour and are toſſed, whereas indeed of all other things, the moſt ſpeciall & beſt choice would be made of that

Great error committed in manner of Calking his Majeſties ſhips with rotten Ocum.

ſtuffe to have it both new and good, for that ſparing to imploy old rotten Ropes, is a great defect either in the building of new Ships, or in the repairing of old, and is the cauſe why after every journey they muſt be new Calked. And therefore it were much to be wiſhed, as a thing fit for his Majeſties ſervice, profitable for the Navy, and happy for thoſe that ſhall ſerve in them, that the whole Navy throughout were all ſheathed, as ſome of them are. The benefit and good whereof for Sea-ſervice is manifold, and no leſſe frugall for his Majeſty in making his Ships as ſtrong and laſting thereby, as they are otherwiſe good of layle. And then ſhall they never need (ſcarcely once in ten years) this new Calking and repayt-

ing

ing which now almost every yeare they have. And hereof let the censure be taken of the best Seamen of *England*, and they will not vary from this opinion.

Censure taken of the best Seamen of England.

Of Victualling.

AS his Majesties due allowance for Victualling of ships is very large and honourable, and would be greatly to the incouragement and strengthning of the Marriners and Souldiers that serve in them, if it were faithfully distributed, the Sea-service (indeed) being very miserable and painfull, So againe as it is abused and purloyned, it is very scant and dishonourable to the great slander of the Navy, to the discouragement of all them

His Majesties allowance for victualling Ships very large and honourable.

that are preſt thereunto, and to the hinderance of his Majeſties ſervice. For that many times they goe with a great grudging to ſerve in his Majeſties Ships, as if it were to be ſlaves in the Gallyes. So much doe they ſtand in feare of penurie and hunger; The caſe being cleane contrary in all Merchants ſhips, and therefore the Purveyors and Victuallers are much to be condemned, as not a little faulty in that behalfe, who make no little profit of thoſe polings which is cauſe very lamentable, that ſuch as ſit in eaſe at home, ſhould ſo raiſe a benefit out of their hunger and thirſt, that ſerve their Prince and Country painfully abroad, whereof there hath a long time been great complaining, but ſmall reformation.

Of

Of Beere Caskes.

THere is alſo daily proofe made, what great inconveniences growes by the bad Caske which is uſed in his Majeſties ſhips being commonly ſo ill ſeaſoned and Conditioned, as that a great part of the Beere is ever loſt and caſt away, or (if for neceſſity it be uſed) it breeds Infection, and Corrupts all thoſe that drinke thereof. For the Victuallers for cheapneſſe will buy ſtale Caske that hath been uſed for Herring, Traine Oyle, Fiſh, and other ſuch unſavory things, and thereinto fill the beere that is provided for the Kings Ships. Beſides the Caske is commonly ſo ill hooped, as that there is waſt

Great inconvenience by bad Caske uſed in his Majeſties ſhips

waſt and leaking made of the fourth part of all the drinke were it never ſo good, which is a great expence to his Majeſty, a hinderance of ſervice, and a hazard of mens lives, when the proviſion failes ſo much and anſwers not the Accompt. The which might eaſily be redreſſed, if the Caske for his Majeſties Shipping, were purpoſely hooped in ſuch ſort as Wine Caske is, or elſe hooped with Iron, which would ever ſerve and ſave that continuall proviſion of new Caske, which now falls out every voyage. But this courſe were more profitable for his Majeſty then for his Officers, and therefore unpleaſing to be ſpoken of, But yet ſuch as ſerve in the Ships have good cauſe to wiſh the reformation thereof.

Of

Of the Cookroomes in his Majesties Ships.

AND whereas now the Cookroomes in all of his Majesties Ships are made below in hold in the waſt, the inconveniences thereof are found many wayes by daily uſe and experience. For firſt it is a great ſpoile and annoyance to all the drinke and victualls which are beſtowed in the hold, by the heat that comes from the Cookroome. Beſides, it is very dangerous for fire, and very offenſive with the ſmoake and unſavory ſmells which it ſends from thence. Moreover it is a great weakening to a ſhip to have ſo much weight and charge at both the ends, and nothing in the Mid-Ship, which

The great Inconveniences of the Cookrooms in all his Majesties Ships made below in hold in the waſt.

Sea-phrase.

which causeth them to warpe, and (in the Sea-phrase; and with Marriners) is tearmed Camberkeeld: whereas if the Cookroomes were made in the Forecastle (as very fitly they might be) all those Inconveniences above specified, would be avoyded, and then also would there be more roome for stowage of victualls, or any other necessary provisions, whereof there is now daily found great want. And the Commoditie of this new Cookroome the Merchants have found to be so great, as that in all their Ships (for the most part) the Cookroomes are built in their Fore-Castles, contrary to that which hath been anciently used. In which change notwithstanding, they have found no inconvenience to their dressing of meat

meat in foule weather, but rather a great eaſe, howbeit their Ships goe as long voyages as any, and are for their burdens aſwell mann'd. For if any ſtormes ariſe, or the Sea grow ſo high as that the Kettle cannot Boyle in the Forecaſtles, yet having with their Beere and Bisket, Butter and Cheeſe, and with their pickled Herrings, Oyle, Vineger and Onions, or with their red Herrings and dry Sprats, Oyle and Muſtard, and other like proviſions that needs no fire, theſe ſupply and varieties of victualls, will very ſufficiently content and nouriſh men for a time, until the ſtorme be over blowne that kept the Kettle from boyling.

of

Of Muſtering and preſſing able Marriners.

Muſters and Preſſes for ſufficient marriners to ſerve in his Majeſties Ships the care therein very little, or the bribery very great.

AS concerning the Muſters and Preſſes for ſufficient Marriners to ſerve in his Majeſties Ships, either the care therein is very little, or the bribery very great, ſo that of all other ſhipping, his Majeſties are ever the worſt manned, and at ſuch times as the *Commiſſioners* Commiſſions come out for the preſſing of Marriners, the Officers doe ſet out the moſt needy and unable men, and (for Conſiderations to themſelves beſt knowne) doe diſcharge the better ſort, a matter ſo commonly uſed, as that it is growne into a Proverbe amongſt the Saylers, That the Muſtermaſters doe carry the beſt

beſt and ableſt men in their Pockets, a Cuſtome very evill and dangerous, where the ſervice and uſe of men ſhould come in tryall. For many of thoſe poore Fiſhermen and Idlers, that are cõmonly preſented to his Majeſties Ships, are ſo ignorant in Sea-ſervice, as that they know not the name of a Rope, and therefore inſufficient for ſuch labour. The which might eaſily bee redreſſed; if the Vice-Admirall of the Shire where men are muſtered, and two Juſtices had directions given, to joyn with the Muſtermaſters for the preſſing of the beſt men whom they well know, and would not ſuffer the ſervice of their Prince and Country to be bought and ſold, as a private Muſter-maſter would doe. Beſides, the Captains

The Saylers Proverbe.

tains themſelves of the Ships, if they bee bare and needy (though pitty it were that men of ſuch condition ſhould have ſuch charge committed unto them) wil oftentimes for Commodity Chop and change away their good men, and therefore it were fitly provided to bridle ſuch odd Captains, that neither they themſelves, nor any of their men, ſhould receive his Majeſties pay but by the pole, and according as they were ſet downe in the Officers books when they were delivered without changing of any names, except to ſupply ſuch men as are wanting by death or ſickneſſe, upon good teſtimonie under the hands of the Maſter, the Boat ſwayne, the Maſter Gunner, the Purſer and other Officers of the ſhip. For it neer-

ly

ly concerns them to looke well thereunto, having daily uſe of them.

Of Arms and Munition.

IT were a courſe very Comfortable, defenſive and honourable, that there were for al his Majeſties ſhips a proportion of Swords, Targets of proof, Moryons, and Curatts of proofe, allowed and ſet downe for every ſhip according to his burthen, as a thing both Warlike, and uſed in the King of *Spains* ſhips, the want whereof as it is a great diſcouragement to men if they come to any neere fight or landing, ſo would the uſe thereof be a great annoyance and terrifying to the enemy. And herein ſhould his Majeſty need to be at no extra-

A proportion of Swords Targets of proofe and the like allowed; and ſet downe for every Ship according to his burthen, &c.

ordinary expence: For the abating of the ſuperfluous great pieces in every Ship, with their allowance for Powder, Match and Shot, would ſupply the coſt of this proviſion in very ample manner.

Of Captains to ſerve in his Majeſties Ships.

His Majeſties owne ſworne Servants to be preferred to the charge of his Majeſties Ships.

AT al ſuch times as his Majeſt. ſhips are imployed in ſervice, it were very convenient that ſuch Gentlemen as are his Majeſties owne ſworne ſervants, ſhould be preferred to the charge of his Majeſties Ships, Choice being made of men of valour, and Capacitie; rather then to imploy other mens men, And that other of his Majeſties ſervants ſhould be diſperſed privately in thoſe ſervices to gaine

gaine experience, and to make themſelves able to take charge. By the which means his Majeſtie ſhould ever have Gentlemen of good accompt his owne ſervants, Captains of his owne Ships, inſtead of pettie Companions and other mens ſervants, who are often imployed, being (indeed) a great indignity to his Majeſty, to his ſhipping and to his owne Gentlemen. For that in times paſt, it hath been reputed a great grace to any man of the beſt ſort, to have the Charge of the Princes ſhip cõmitted unto him, and by this means there would ever be true report made unto the Pr. what proceedings are uſed in the ſervice, which theſe meaner ſort of Captains dare not doe, for feare of diſpleaſing the Lords their Maſters, by whom

they are preferred, or being of an inferiour quality, have no good acceſſe to the Preſence of the Prince, whereby to have fit opportunity to make relation accordingly.

Objection. But now foraſmuch as I doubt not, but that ſome contrary ſpirits may or will object this as a ſufficient reaſon to infirme all thoſe points that I have have formerly ſpoken of, and ſay unto me, why ſhould his Majeſty and the State bee troubled with this needleſſe Charge of keeping and maintaining ſo great a Navy in ſuch exquiſite perfection, and readineſſe? the times being now peaceable, and little uſe of Armes or Ships of Warre, either at home or abroad, but all ſafe and ſecure, aſwell by the uniting of the two Nations, as by

by the peace which we hold with *Spaine*, and all other Christian Princes. To this I answer, that this (indeed) may stand (at the first sight) for a prettie superficiall argument to bleare our eys, and lull us asleep in security, and make us negligent and careleſſe of thoſe cauſes from whence the effects of peace grows, and by the vertue whereof it muſt be maintained. But we muſt not flatter and deceive our ſelves, to thinke that this Calme and Concord proceeds either from a ſetled immutable tranquillity in the world (which is full of alterations and various humours) or from the good affections of our late enemies, who have taſted too many diſgraces, repulſes, and loſſes, by our forces and ſhipping, to wiſh our State ſo much

felicity as a happy and peaceable government, if otherwiſe they had power to hinder it. And therefore though the ſword be put into the Sheath, we muſt not ſuffer it there to ruſt, or ſtick ſo faſt, as that we ſhall not be able to draw it readily when need requires. For albeit our enemies have of late years ſought peace with us, yet yet hath it proceeded out of the former tryall of our forces in times of war and Enmity. And therefore we may well ſay of them as *Anneus* (*Pretor* of the Latines) ſaid of the Roman Ambaſſadours, who ſeemed curious and carefull to have the League maintained betweene them (which the Roman eſtate was not accuſtomed to ſeeke at their neighbours hands) and thereupon ſaith this *Anneus*,

unde

unde hæc illis tanta modeſtia niſi ex cognitione virium & noſtrarum & ſuarum. For with the like conſideration and reſpect have our late enemies ſought to renew the ancient friendſhip and peace with us. And well we may be aſſured, that if thoſe powerfull means whereby we reduced them to that modeſty and curteſie as to ſeeke us, were utterly laid aſide and neglected, ſo as we could not againe upon occaſion readily aſſume the uſe and benefit of them, as we have done, thoſe proud maſtering ſpirits, finding us at ſuch advantage, would be more ready and willing to ſhake us by the ears as enemies, then to take us by the hands as friends. And therefore far be it from our hearts to truſt more to that friendſhip of ſtrangers, that is but diſſembled upon

upon policy and neceſſity, then to the ſtrength of our owne forces, which hath been experienced with ſo happy ſucceſſe. I confeſſe that peace is a great bleſſing of God, and bleſſed are the Peacemakers, and therefore doubtleſſe bleſſed are thoſe means whereby peace is gained and maintained. For well we know that God worketh all things here amongſt us mediatly by a ſecondary means, The which meanes of our defence and ſafety being ſhipping, and Sea-Forces, are to be eſteemed as his guifts, and then only availeable and beneficiall, when he withall vouchſafeth his grace to uſe them aright.

FINIS.

Sir Walter Rawleigh *his Apologie.*

IF ill ſucceſſe of this Enterpriſe of mine had bin without Example, I ſhould have needed a large diſcourſe and many arguments for my Juſtification, But if the atempts of the greateſt Princes of *Europe*, both among themſelves and againſt the great Turk, are in all moderne Hiſtories left to every eye to peruſe. It is not ſo ſtrange that my ſelfe being but a private man,

and drawing after me the chaines and Fetters whereunto I have been thirteen yeares tyed in the Tower, being unpardoned and in disgrace with my Soveraigne Lord, have by other mens errours failed in the attempt I undertooke.

For if that *Charles* the Fifth returned with unexampled losse, I will not say dishonour, from *Algire* in *Africa*: If King *Sebastian* lost himselfe and his Army in *Barbary*: If the invincible Fleet and forces of *Spaine* in Eighty Eight were beaten home by the Lord *Charles Howard* Admirall of *England*: If Mr. *Strozzi* the Count *Brizack* the Count of *Vinnoso* and others, with the Fleet of fifty eight sayle and six thousand Souldiers, encountered with far lesse numbers could not defend the *Terceres*. Leaving to speake of a world of other attempts furnished by Kings and Princes. If Sir *Francis Drake*, Sir *John Hawkins* and Sir *Thomas Baskervile*,

kervile men for their experience and valour as Eminent as *England* had any, ſtrengthned with divers of her Majeſties ſhips, and fild with Souldiers at will, could not poſſeſſe themſelves of the Treaſure they ſought for, which in their view was imbarked in certaine Frigotts at *Puerto Rico*, yet afterward they were repulſed with fifty Negroes upon the Mountains of *Vaſques Numius*, or *Sierra de Capira* in their paſſage towards *Panania*: If Sir *John Norris* (though not by any fault of his) failed in the attempts of *Lyſbone* and returned with the loſſe, by ſickneſſe and otherwiſe, of eight thouſand men. What wonder is it, but that mine (which is the laſt) being followed with a company of Voluntiers who for the moſt part had neither ſeen the Sea nor the Warres, who, ſome forty Gentlemen excepted, had we the very ſcumme of the World: Drunkards, Blaſphemers and ſuch others as their Fathers Bro-

thers and freinds thought it an exceeding good gaine to be diſcharged of them with the hazard of ſome thirty forty or fifty pounds, knowing they could not have liv'd a whole yeare ſo cheape at home: I ſay what wonder is it, if I have failed, where I could neither be preſent my ſelfe, nor had any of the Commanders (whom I moſt truſted) living, or in ſtate to ſupply my place?

Now, where it was bruted, both before my departure out of *England* and by the mo ſt men beleived, that I meant nothing leſſe then to go to *Guiana*: but that being once at liberty and in mine owne power, having made my way with ſome Forraigne Prince I would turne Pyratt and utterly forſake my Countrey. My being at *Guiana*, my returning into *England* unpardoned, and my not takeing the ſpoile of the Subj. of any Chriſtian Prince, hath (I doubt not) deſtroyed that Opinion.

But this is not all: for it hath been given

given out by an hypocritticall Theite who was the firſt Maſter of my ſhipp: And by an ungratefull Youth which waited upon me in my Cabbin, though of honourable worthy Parents: and by others: That I carryed with me out of *England* twenty two thouſand peices of twenty two ſhillings the peice, and thererefore needed not, or cared not to diſcover any Mine in *Guiana*, nor make any other attempt elſewhere: Which Report being carried ſecretly from one to an other in my ſhip, and ſo ſpread through all the ſhips in the Fleet which ſtaid with me at *Trenidado* while our Land-Forces were in *Guiana*, had like to have been my utter overthrow in a moſt miſerable faſhion; For it was conſulted when I had taken my Barge and gone a ſhoare (either to diſcover or otherwiſe as I often did) That my ſhip ſhould have ſet ſaile and left me there, where either I muſt have ſuffered Famine,

been eaten with wilde beasts, or have fallen into the hands of the *Spaniards* and been flayed alive as others of the *English*, which came thither but to trade only, had formerly been.

To this Report of Riches, I make this Protestation, That if it can be prooved, either now or hereafter, that I had in the world, either in my keeping or in my power, either directly or indirectly in trust or otherwise, above one hundred peices when I departed *London*, of which I had left forty five peices with my wife, and fifty five I carried with me: I acknowledge my selfe for a Reprobate, a Villaine, a Traitor to the King, and the most unworthy man that doth live, or ever hath liv'd upon the earth.

Now where the Captaines that left me in the *Indies*, and Captaine *Baily*, that ran away from me at *Cancerota*, have, to excuse themselves, objected for the first, *That I lingered at* Plimouth

mouth *when I might have gone thence, and loſt a faire Wind and time of the yeare, or to that effect.* It is ſtrange that men of faſhion and Gentlemen ſhould ſo groſly bely their owne knowledge: And that had not I lived nor returnd to have made anſwer to this Faction, yet all that know us in *Plimouth* and all that we had to deale withall knew the contrary. For after I had ſtayed at the Iſle of *Wight* divers daies; the *Thunder*, Commanded by Sir *Warram St. Leger* by the negligence of her Maſter, was at Lee in the *Thames*; and after I arrived at *Plimouth*, Captaine *Pennington* was not come then to the Iſle of *Wight*, and being arrived there, and not able to redeeme his Bread from the Bakers, he rode back to *LONDON* to intreat help from my wife to pay for it, who having not ſo much money to ſerve his turne, ſhe wrote to Mr. *Wood* of *Portſmouth* and gave him her word for thirty pounds, which ſhee

ſoone

ſoone after payd him, without which (as *Pennington* himſelfe proteſted to my wife) he had not bin able to have gone the journey: Sir *John Ferne* I found there without all hope of being able to proceed, having nor men nor mony, and in great want of other proviſion, inſomuch as I furniſhed him by my Cozen *Herbert* with a hundred pounds, having ſupplied himſelfe in *Wales* with a hundred pounds before his coming to *Plimouth*: and procured him a third hundred pound from the worthy and honeſt Deane of *Exeter* Doctor *Sutcliffe*. Captaine *Whitney*, whome I alſo ſtayed for, had a third part of his victualls to provide, inſomuch as having no mony to help him withall I ſold my Plate in *Plimouth* to ſupply him. *Baily* I left at the *Iſle of Wight*, whoſe arrivall I alſo attended here ſome ten or twelve daies as I remember, and what ſhould move *Baily* only to leave me as he did at the *Canaries*

ries, from whence he might have departed with my love and leave, and at his returne to do me all the wrong he could deviſe, I cannot conceive; he ſeemed to me from the begining not to want any thing, he only deſired of me ſome Ordnance and ſome iron-bound Caske, and I gave it him; I never gave him ill language nor offered him the leaſt unkindneſſe to my knowledge: It is true, that I refuſed him a French Shallop which he tooke in the Bay of *Portingall* outward bound, and yet after I had bought her of the French, and paid fifty Crownes ready mony for her if *Baily* had then deſired her he might have had her; But to take any thing from the *French*, or from any other nation, I meant it not.

True it is, that as many things ſucceeded both againſt Reaſon and our beſt endeavours; So it is moſt commonly true, that men are the cauſe of their owne miſery, as I was of mine, when I undertooke

undertooke my late enterprise without a pardon for all my Company, having heard it avowed in *England* before they went, that the Commission I had, was granted to a man who was *Non Ens* in law, so hath the want thereof taken from me both Armes and Actions: Which gives boldnesse to every petty Companion to spread Rumours to my Defamation and the wounding of my Reputation, in all places where I cannot be present to make them Knaves and Lyars.

It hath been secondly objected, *That I put into* Ireland *and spent much time there, taking care to Revictuall my selfe and none of the rest.*

Certainly I had no purpose to see *Ireland* when I left *Plimouth*, but being encountered with a strong Storme some eight Leagues to the Westward of *Scilly*, in which Captaine *Chudleyes* Pinace was suncke, and Captaine *King* thrust into *Bristoll*: I held it the Office

fice of a Commander of many ſhips, and thoſe of divers Saylings and conditions, of which ſome could Hull and Trye, and ſome of them beat it up upon a Tack, and others neither able to doe the one nor the other, rather to take a Port and keep his Fleete together, then either to endanger the loſſe of Maſts and Yardes; or to have it ſevered farre aſunder, and to be thruſt into divers places. For the attendance of meeting them againe at the next Randezvous, would conſume more Time and Victuall, and perchance the weake ſhips might be ſet upon, taken, or diſordered, then could be ſpent by recovering a Harbour, and attending the next change of wind.

That the diſſevering of Fleets hath beene the overthrow of many Actions, I could give many Examples, were it not in every mans Knowledge. In the laſt Enterprize of worth

worth, undertaken by our *Engliſh* Nation with three Squadrons of ſhips, Commanded by the Earle of *Eſſex*, the Earle of *Suffolke* and my ſelfe, where was alſo preſent the Earle of *Southampton*, If we being ſtorme-beaten in the Bay of *Alcaſhar* or *Biſcaye* had had a Port under our Lee, that we might have kept our Tranſporting ſhips with our men of War, we had in all likelihood both taken the *Indian* Fleet and the *Aſores*.

That we ſtaid long in *Ireland* it is true, but they muſt accuſe the Clouds and not me, for our ſtay there; for I loſt not a day of a good Wind: and there was not any Captaine of the Fleet but had Credit or might have had for a great deale of more victualls then we ſpent there, and yet they had of me fifty Beeves among them and ſomewhat elſe.

For the third Accuſation, *That I landed in Hoſtile maner at* Lancerota; Certainly

Certainly Captaine *Baily* had greate want of matter when he gave that for an excuſe of his turning back, for I referr my ſelfe to Mr. *Barney*, who I know will ever juſtifie a truth, to whom (when he came to me from Captaine *Baily* to know whether he ſhould land his men with the reſt) I made this anſwer, that he might land them if it pleaſed him, or otherwiſe keepe them aboard, for I had agreed with the Governor for a proportion of victuall which I hourely expected: And it is true, that the Governor being deſirous for to ſpeake with me with one Gentleman with him with their Rapiers only, which I accepting, and taking with me Leivetenant *Bradſhaw*, we agreed: that I ſhould ſend up an *Engliſh* Factor (whoſe ſhip did then ride in the Roade) and that whatſoever the Iſland could yeeld ſhould be delivered at a reaſonable rate; I ſent the Engliſh Factor according to our agreement,

ment, but the Governour put it off from one morning to an other, and in the end ſent me word, that except I would imbarque my men which lay on the Set ſide, *Slanders* were ſo jealous as they durſt not ſever themſelves to make our Proviſions: I did ſo, but when the one halfe were gotten aboard two of our Centinells forcet, one ſlaine and the Engliſh Factor ſent to tell mee that he had nothing for us, whom he ſtill believed to be a Fleet of the Turks, who had lately taken and deſtroyed *Puerto Sancto*. Hereupon all the Companies would have marched toward the Towne and have ſackt it, but I knew it would not only diſlike His Majeſty; But that our Merchants having a continuall trade with thoſe Iſlands, that their Goods would have bin ſtayed, and amongſt the reſt, the poor Engliſh man riding in the Road having all that he brought thither aſhore, would have been utterly undone.

Hereof

Hereof I complained to the Governour of the Grand *Canaries*, whom I alſo deſired that we might take water without any diſturbance, but inſtead of anſwer, when we landed ſome hundred men, far from any habitation, and in a Deſart place of the Iſland, where we found ſome freſh water, there Ambuſh was layd, and one *Fiſher* of Sir *John Fernes* ſhip wounded to death, and more had been ſlain had not Captaine *Thornhurſt* and Maſter *Robert Hayman* my ſonnes Lievtenant, two exceeding valiant Gentlemen, who firſt made head againſt them, ſeconded by Sir *Warham Sentleger* and my Sonne with halfe a dozen more, made forty of them runne away. From hence becauſe there was ſcarcity of water, we ſayled to *Gomarrah*, one of the ſtrongeſt and well defenced places of all the Iſlands and the beſt Port: The Towne being ſeated upon the very Waſh of the Sea, at the firſt entrance

of our ſhips, they ſhot at us, and ours at them, but as ſoone as I my ſelfe recovered the Harbour, and had commanded that there ſhould be no more ſhooting, I ſent a Spaniard a ſhore (taken in a Barque which came from *Cape Blanke*) to tell the Governour that I had no purpoſe to make warr with any of the Spaniſh Kings Subjects, and if any harme were done by our great Ordnance to the Towne, it was his fault, which by ſhooting firſt gave the occaſion. He ſent me for anſwer that he thought we had beene the Turkiſh Fleet, which deſtroyed *Puerto Santo*, but being reſolved by the Meſſenger that we were Chriſtians and Engliſh, and ſought nothing but water, he would willingly afford us as much as we pleaſed to take, if he might be aſſured that we would not attempt his Towne-Houſes, nor deſtroy the Gardens and fruits; I returned him anſwer that I would give him my Faith, and

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the word of the King of Great Brittaigne my Soveraigne Lord, that the People of the Town and Iſland ſhould not looſe ſo much as one Orange or a Grape without paying for it, I would hang him up in the Market-ſtreet. Now that I kept my Faith with him, and how much he held himſelfe bound unto me: I have divers of his Letters to ſhew, for he wrote unto me every day And the Counteſſe being of an engliſh Race a *Stafford* by Mother, and of the houſe of *Horn* by the Father, ſent me divers preſents of fruits, Sugar, and Ruske: to whom I returned becauſe I would not depart in her debt) things of greater value; The old Earle at my departure wrot a Letter to the Spaniſh *Ambaſſador* here in *England* how I had behaved my ſelfe in thoſe Iſlands. There I diſcharg'd a Barke of the grand *Canaries* taken by one of my Pinnaces coming from *Cape-Blank* in *Africa*, and demanding of him what prejudice

he had recieved by being taken, he told me that my men had eaten of his fiſh to the value of ſixe Duckets, for which I gave him eight.

From the *Canaries*, it is ſaid *That I ſayled to* Cape de Verte *knowing it to be an infectious place, by reaſon whereof I loſt ſo many of my men ere I recovered the* Indies; The truth is that I came no nerer to *Cape de Vert* then *Bravo*, which is one hundred and ſixty Leagues off; But had I taken it in my way, falling upon the Coaſt or any other part of *Guiana*, after the Raines, there is as little danger of infection as in any other part of the World, as our Engliſh that trade in thoſe parts every yeare doe well know; There are few places in *England* or in the world neere great Rivers which run through low grounds or neare Mooriſh or Marſh grounds, but the People inhabiting neare, are at ſome time of the yeare ſubject to Feavers, witnes *Woollwich* in *Kent* and all

downe

down the Rivers on both ſides, other Infection there is not found either in the *Indies* or in *Affrica*, Except it be when the Eaſterly wind or Breeſes are kept off by ſome High Mountaines from the Vallies, wherby the ayre wanting motion doth become exceeding unhealthfull as at *Nomber de Dios* and elſewhere. But as good ſucceſſe admitts no Examination, ſo the contrary allows of no excuſe, how reaſonable or juſt ſoever. Sir *Francis Drake*, Mr. *John Winter* and *John Tomas*, when they paſt the Streights of *Malegan*, meeting with a ſtorme which drove *Winter* back, which thruſt *John Thomas* upon the Iſlands to the South where he was caſt away, and Sir *Francis* nere a ſmall Iſland upon which the *Spaniards* landed their cheins & murderers, from *Baldivia*, and he found there *Phillip* an Indian who told him where he was and conducted him to *Baldivia*, wher he took his firſt prize of Treaſure,

and in that ſhip he found a Pylot called *John Grege* who guided him all that Coaſt, in which he poſſeſt himſelfe of the reſt, which Pylot becauſe he ſhould not rob him of his Reputation and knowledge in thoſe parts (deſiſting the intreaties and teares of all his Company) he ſet him a ſhore upon the Iſland of *Altegulors* to be by them devoured. After which paſſing by the *Eaſt-Indies*, he returned into *England*, and notwithſtanding the peace between Us and *Spaine*, he enjoyed the Riches he brought, and was never ſo much as called to accompt for cutting off *Douly* his head at *Porte St. Julian* having neither Marſhall Law nor other Commiſſion availeable. Mr. *Candiſh* having paſt all the Coaſts of *Chyle* and *Peru*, and not gotten a farthing, when he was without hope, and ready to ſhape his courſe by the Eaſt homewards, met a ſhip which came from the *Phillippines* at *Caleſtorvia*, a thouſand

thouſand pounds to a Nut ſhell. Theſe two in theſe two Voyages were the Children of Fortune, and much honored; But when Sir *Francis Drake* in his laſt attempt might have landed at *Cruces*, by the river of *Chyagre* within eight miles of *Panama*, he notwithſtanding ſet the Troups on land at *Nomber de Dios* and received the repulſe aforeſaid, he dyed for ſorrow. The ſame ſucceſſe had *Candiſh* in his laſt Paſſage towards the Streights. I ſay that one and the ſame end they both had, to wit *Drake* and *Candiſh*, when Chance had left them to the tryall of their owne Vertues.

For the reſt I leave to all worthy and indifferent men to judge, by what neglect or errour of mine, the Gold Mine in *Guiana* which I had formerly diſcovered was not found and enjoyed, for after we had refreſhed our ſelves in *Galleana*, otherwiſe in the firſt diſcovery called *Poet Howard*, where we tarri-

ed Captaine *Haſtins*, Captaine *Pigott*, and Captaine *Snedall*, and there recovered the moſt part of our ſicke men. I did Imbarque ſixe Companies of fifty to each Company in five ſhipps, to wit, the *Encounter*, Commanded by Captaine *Whitney*, in the *Confidence* by Captaine *Woollaſtone*, into two Flyboats of my owne, Commanded by Captaine *Samuell King*, and Captaine *Robert Smith*, In a Carvill which Companies had for their Leaders Captaine *Charles Parker*, Captaine *North*, My Sonne, Captaine *Thornhurſt*, Captaine *Penjuglous* Lievtenant, and Captaine *Chudlyes* Lievtenant *Prideux*.

At the Tryangle Iſlands I imbarked the companies for *Orrenoque* between which and *Calliana* I lay a ground twenty four houres, and if it had not been faire weather we had never come off

off the Coaſt, having not above two Fathome and a halfe of water: Eight Leagues off from whence, I directed them for the River of *Surniama*, the beſt part of all that Tract of land between the river *Amazones* and *Orrenoque*, there I gave them order to trim their Boates and Barges; and by the Indians of that place to underſtand the ſtate of the *Spaniards* in *Orrenoque*, and whither they had replanted or ſtrengthened themſelves upon the entrances or elſewhere; and if they found any Indians there, to ſend in the little flyboate or the Carvill into the river of *Diſſebecke*, where they ſhould not faile to find Pilots for *Orrenoque*, for with our great ſhips we durſt not aproach the Coaſt we having been all of us a ground, and in danger of leaving our Bands upon the ſhoules before wee recovered the Tryangle Iſlands as aforeſaid; The Biggeſt Shipp that could Enter the River was the *Encounter*, who

who might be brought to eleven foote water upon the Bar. we could never understand neither by *Keymis*, who was the first of any Nation that had entered the maine mouth of *Orrenoque* nor by any of the Masters or Marriners of our Fleet, which had traded there ten or twelve yeares for Tobaccho: For the *Chudley* when she came nere the Entrance, drawing but twelve foote, found her selfe in danger and bore up for *Trinidado*.

Now whereas some of my friends have been unsatisfised why I my selfe had not gone up with the Companies I sent, I desire hereby to give them satisfaction, that besides my want of health and strength, and having not recovered my long and dangerous sicknesse, but was againe fallen into a Relapse, my ship Stoalde and layd a ground at seaventeene foote water, 7 Leagues of the shore, so as the Mr. nor any of my company durst adventure

ture

ture to come neare it, much leſſe to fall between the ſhoules on the ſouth ſide of the Rivers ſide, and ſands on the North ſide called *Puncto Anegado*, one of the moſt dangerous places in all the *Indies*: It was therefore reſolved by us all, that the five greater ſhips ſhould ride at *Puncto Gallo* in *Trinidado*, and the five leſſer ſhould enter the River, For it *Whitney* and *Woollaſton* at eleven foote lay a ground three daies in paſſing up, in what caſe had I been which drew ſeaventeene foote, a heavier ſhip and charged with forty pieces of Ordnance, beſides this impoſſibility, neither would my Sonn nor the reſt of the Captaines and Gentlemen have adventured themſelves the River (having but one moneths Victualls and being thruſt together a hundred of them in a ſmale Flyboate) had not I aſſured them that I would ſtay for them at *Trinidado*, and that no Force ſhould drive me thence, except I were ſuncke in

in the Sea or ſet on Fire by the Spaniſh Gallions, for that they would have adventured themſelves upon any other mans word or reſolution, it were ridiculous to beleive.

Having in this ſort reſolved upon our enterpriſe, and having given inſtructions, how they ſhould proceede before and after their entrance into *Orrenoque*, *Keymis* having undertaken to diſcover the Myne with ſix or eight perſons in Sir *John Fernes* Shallop, I better bethinking my ſelfe and miſliking his determination gave him this order, *viz.*

Keymis, whereas you were reſolved after your arrivall into *Orrenoque* to paſſe to the Myne with my Couſen *Harbert* and ſix musketteers, and to that end you deſired to have Sir *John Fernes* ſhallop, I doe not allow of that courſe, becauſe you cannot Land ſo ſecretly but that ſome Indians on the River ſide may diſcover you, who giving knowledge

knowledge of your passage to the Spaniards you may be cut off before you can recover your Boate, I doe therefore advise you to suffer the Captaines and the Companies of the English to passe up to the Westwards of the mountaine *Aio*, from whence you have no lesse then three miles to the Myne, and to lodge and encampe between the Spanish Towne and you, if there be any Town neer it, that being so secured you may make tryall what depth and bredth the Myne holds, and whether or no it answer our hopes. And if you find it Royall, and the Spaniards begin to Warre upon you, then let the Serjeant Major repell them if it be in his power, and drive them as far as he can.

But if you find that the Myne be not so rich as it may perswade the holding of it, and draw on a second supply, then shall you bring but a basket or two to satisfy his Majesty, that my designe was not Imaginatory but true, though

though not answerable to his Majesties expectation, for the quantity of which I never gave assurance, nor could.

On the other side, if you shall find that any great number of Souldiers be newly sent into *Orrenoque*, as the *Cassique* of *Caliana* told us that there were, and that the Passages be already Forc'd so that without manifest Perill of my sonne, your selfe, and other Captaines, you cannot passe toward the Myne, then be well advised how you land, for I know (that a few Gentlemen excepted) what a Scumme of men you have, and I would not for all the world receive a blow from the Spaniards to the dishonour of our Nation; I my selfe for my weaknes cannot be present, neither will the Company land, except I stay with the ships, the Gallioones of *Spaine* being daily expected. *Pigott* the Sergeant-Major is dead. Sir *Warrham* my Leiftenant, without hope of life, and

and my Nephew your Sergeant-Major no w but a young man: It is therefore no your judgement that I Rely whom I truſt God will direct for the beſt.

Let me heare from you as ſoone as you can, you ſhall find me at *Punto Gallo* dead or alive, and if you finde not my ſhips there, yet you ſhall find their Aſhes; For I will fire with the Gallioones if it come to extreamity, But runne away I will never.

That theſe my Inſtructions were not followed, was not my fault, But it ſeemes that the Sergeant-Major, *Keymis* and the reſt were by accident forced to change their firſt reſolution, and that finding a Spaniſh towne or rather a village, ſet up twenty mile diſtant from the place where *Antonio Berro* the firſt Governour by me taken in my firſt diſcovery who had attẽpted to plant to meet ſome two Leagues to the Weſtward of the Mine: They agreed to land and encamp between the Mine

Myne and the Towne, which they did not ſuſpect to be ſo neer them as it was, and meaning to reſt themſelves on the Rivers ſide till the next day, they were in the night ſet upon and charged by the Spaniards, which being unlooked for, the Common ſort of them were ſo amazed, as had not the Captaines and ſome other valiant Gentlemen made a Head and encouraged the reſt, they had all been broken and cut in pieces. To repell this force putting themſelves in order, they charged the Spaniards, and following them upon their retreat they were ready to enter the Town, ere they knew where they were, and being then charged againe by the Governour, and foure or five Captaines which lead their Companies; My Sonne not tarrying for my Musketiers run up in the head of a company of Pikes, where he was firſt ſhot, and preſſing upon a Spaniſh Captaine called *Erinetta* with his ſword;

ſword; *Erinetta* taking the ſmall end of his Muſket in his hand ſtrucke him on the head with the ſtock and feld him, whom againe *John Pleſington*, my Sonnes Setjeant, thruſt through with his Halbert, at which time alſo the Governour *Diego Palmeque* and the reſt of the Spaniſh Captaines being ſlaine, and their Companies divided, they betooke themſelves into a houſe, or hold adjoyning to the market place, where they ſlew and wounded the Engliſh at their pleaſure, ſo as we had no way to ſaveour ſelves; but by firing thoſe houſes adjoyning, which done all the Spaniards ran into the bordering Woods, and Hills, keeping the Engliſh ſtill waking with perpetuall Alarums.

The town ſuch as it was being in this ſort poſſeſt. *Keymis* prepared to diſcover the Myne, which at this time he was reſolved to doe, as appeareth by his Letter to me of his owne hand writing

hereafter inſerted; he tooke with him Captaine *Thornhurſt*, Maſter *William Herbert*, Sir *John Hambden*, and others, but at his firſt approach neer the banke where he meant to Land, he received from the wood a vollew of ſhot which ſlew two of his Company, hurt ſix others, and wounded Captaine *Thornhurſt* in the head, of the which he languiſhed three months after.

Keymis his LETTER Dated the eight of *January* from *Orrenoque*.

ALL things that appertaine to humane condition in that proper nature and ſence, that of fate and neceſſity belongeth unto them, maketh me chooſe rather with griefe to let you know from me this certaine truth then uncertainties from others; which is, viz. That had not

not this extraordinary valour and forwardneſſe, which with the conſtant vigeur of mind being in the hands of death his laſt breath expreſſed theſe words. (Lord have mercy upon me and proſper your enterpriſe) *leade them all on, when ſome began to pauſe and recoyle ſhamefully: this action had neither been attempted as it was, nor performed as it is with his ſurviving honour.*

This Indian Pilot whom I have ſent, if there be occaſion to uſe his ſervice in any thing will prove ſufficient and truſty: Peter Andrewes *whom I have ſent with him can better certify your Lordſhip of the ſtate of the towne, the plenty, the condition of our men,* &c. *then I can write the ſame.*

We have the Governours ſervant Priſoner that waited on him in his Bedchamber, and knows all things that concerned his Maſter. We find there are foure Refiners Houſes in the towne; the beſt Houſes of the towne. I have not ſeen

one piece of Coyne, or Bullyon, neither Gold or Silver; a ſmall deale of Plate only excepted.

Captain Whitney *and* Woollaſtone *are but now come to us, and now I purpoſe (Godwilling) without delay to viſit the Myne, which is not eight miles from the towne, ſooner I could not goe by reaſon of the murmurings, the diſcords and vexations, wherewith the Serjeant Major is perpetually tormented and tyred, having no man to aſſiſt him but my ſelfe only, things are now in ſome reaſonable order, and ſo ſoone as I have made tryall of the Myne, I will ſeeke to come to your Lordſhip, by the way of the River. To goe and to ſearch the Channels (that if it be poſſible) our Ships may ſhorten their courſe for* Trinidado, *when time ſerves, by thoſe paſſages; I have ſent your Lordſhip a parcell of ſcattered papers (I reſerve a Carte Loade) one roule of Tobacco, one Tortoyſe, and ſome Oranges and Limmons, praying God to give you ſtrength and health of bo-*

dy,

dy, and a mind armed against all extreamities. I reſt ever to be commanded this 8. *of* January, 1617.

Your Lordſhips
KEYMIS.

Now it ſeemes that the death of my Son, fearing alſo (as he told me when he came to *Trinidado*) that I was either dead of my firſt ſickneſſe, or that the news of my Sonnes death would have haſtened my end, made him reſolve not to open the Myne, to the which he added for excuſe, and I thinke it was true, that the Spaniards being gone off in a whole body, lay in the Woods between the Myne and their paſſage, that it was impoſſible, except they had bin beaten out of the Country, to paſſe up the Woody and Craggy Hills without the loſſe of thoſe Commanders which ſhould have lead them, who had they been ſlaine, the reſt, would eaſily enough have bin cut in

pieces in their retreare; for being in poſſeſſion of the towne, which they guarded with the greateſt part of three Companies, they had yet their handfull to defend themſelves from fireing, and the daily and nightly Alarums, wherewith they were vexed. He alſo gave forth the excuſe that it was impoſſible to lodge any Companies at the Myne, for want of Victuall, which from the towne they were not able to carry up the mountaine their Companies being divided; He therefore as he told me thought it a greater error to diſcover it to the Spaniards, themſelves neither being able to worke it, nor poſſeſſe it then to excuſe himſelfe to the Company, ſaid that he could not find it; all which his fancies when I received, and before divers of the Gentlemen diſavowed his ignorance, for I told him That a blind man might find it, by the marks which himſelf had ſet down under his hand, and that I told him that his

care

care of looſing ſo many men in paſſing through the Woods, was but fained, for after my Sonne was ſlaine, I knew that he had no care at all of any man ſurviving, and therefore had he brought to the King but one hundred weight of the oare though with the loſſe of one hundred men, He had given his Majeſty ſatisfaction, preſerved my reputation, and given our Nation encouragement to have returned this next yeare, with greater force and to have held the Country for his Majeſty to whom it belonged, and of which himſelfe had given the teſtimony, that beſides the excellent ayre, pleaſantneſſe, healthfulneſſe, and riches: it hath plenty of Corne, Fruits, Fiſh, Fowle, wild and tame, Beeves, Horſes, Sheepe, Hogs, Deeres, Coneys, Hares, Tortoyſes, Armadiles, Wanaes, Oyles, Hony, Wax, Potatoes, Suger Canes, Medicaments, Balſamum, Simples, Gums, and what not; but ſeeing he had followed his

owne advice, and not mine, I should be forced to leave him arguments with the which if he could satisfy his Majesty, and the State, I should be glad of it, though for my part he must excuse me to justify it, that he, if it had pleased him, though with some losse of men might have gone directly to the place: with that he seemed greatly discontent, and so he continued divers dayes; afterward he came to me in my Cabbin, and shewed me a Letter which he had written to the Earl of *Arundell*, to whom he excused himself, for not discovering of the Myne: using the same arguments, and many others which he had done before, and prayed me to allow of his Apology; but I told him that he had undone me by his obstinacy, and that I would not favour or collour in any sort his former folly. He then asked me, whether that were my resolution, I answered, that it was: he then replyed in these words, I know not

not then Sir what course to take; and went out of my Cabbin into his own, in which he was no sooner entred, but I heard a Pistoll goe off. I sent up (not suspecting any such thing as the killing of himselfe) to know who shot a Pistoll, *Keymis* himself made answer lying on his Bed, that he had shot it off, because it had been long charged, with which I was satisfied; some half houre after this, the Boy going into his Cabbin, found him dead, having a long knife thrust under his left pap through his heart, and his Pistoll lying by him, with which it appeared that he had shot himselfe, but the Bullet lighting upon a rib, had but broken the rib and went no further. Now he that knew *Keymis*, did also know that he was of that obstinate resolution, and a man so far from caring to please or satisfie any man but my selfe, as no mans opinion from the greatest to the least could have perswaded him to have laid violent

lent hands on himselfe, neither would he have done it, when he did it, could he have said unto me, that he was ignorant of the Place, and knew no such Myne; for what cause had I then to to have rejected his excuses, or to have laid his obstinacy to his charge; thus much I have added, because there are some Puppies which have given it out, that *Keymis* slew himselfe because he had seduced so many Gentlemen and others with an imaginary Myne; but as his Letter to me the 8. of *January* proves that he was then resolved to open it, and to take off all these kinds of objections; Let Captaine *Charls Parker*, Captaine *George Ralegh* and Captaine *King* all living and in *England*; be put to their oaths whether or no *Keymis* did not confesse to them comming down the River, at a place where they cast anker, that he could from that place have gone to the Myne in two hours, I say then that if the opening

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of the Myne had bin at that time to any purpoſe; or had they had any victualls left then, to bring them away, or had they not been haſtned by ſeeing the King of *Spaines* Letters before they came to my hands, which I am aſſured *Keymis* had ſeene who delivered them to me, whereof one of them was dated at *Madrill* the 17 of *March* before I left the River of *Thames*, and with it, three other diſpatches with a Commiſſion for the ſtrengthning of *Orrenoque* with 150 Souldiers, which ſhould have come downe the River from the new Kingdome of *Granada*; and one other 150 from *Puerto Rico* with ten pieces of Ordnance which ſhould have come up the River from the entrance, by which two Troupes they might have bin incloſed, I ſay had not the reſt ſeene thoſe diſpatches; and that having ſtayed in the River above two months, they feared the hourely arrivall of thoſe forces, why had they not

not constrained *Keymis* to have brought them to the Myne, being as himselfe confesses within two houres march. Againe, had the Companies Commanders but pincht the Governours man whom they had in their possession, he could have told them of two or three Gold Mynes and a Silver Myne not above foure miles from the Towne, and given them the names of their possessors; with the reason why they forbare to worke them at that time, and when they left off from working them, which they did aswell because they wanted Negroes, as because they feared least the English, French, or Dutch would have forced them from those being once thoroughly opened, having not sufficient strength to defend themselves; But to this, I have heard it said since my returne, that the Governours man was by me perswaded, being in my power, to say that such Mynes there were, when indeed there was no such thing

thing, Certainly they were but silly fooles, that discovered this subtilty of Mine, who having not yet by the long Calenture that weakened me, lost all my wits which I must have done, if I had left my reputation in trust with a *Malato*, who for a pot or two of Wine, for a dozen of Hatchets, or a gay suite of apparell would have confessed, that I had taught him to speake of Mynes, that were not in *Rerum natura*, No I protest before the Majesty of God, that without any other agreements or promises of mine, then well usage, he hath discovered to me, the way to five or sixe of the richest Mynes which the Spaniards have, and from whence, all the Masse of Gold that comes into *Spaine* in effect is drawne.

Lastly, when the Ships were come downe the River as farre as *Carapana's* Country (who was one of the naturall Lords) and one that reserved that part of *Guiana* to her Maje. hearing that the English

Engliſh had abandoned St. T*home*, and left no force in the Country, which he hoped they would have done, hee ſent a great Canooe with ſtore of fruits and Proviſions to the Captains, and by one of his men which ſpake Spaniſh, having as it ſeemed bin long in their hands; hee offered them a rich Gold Myne in his own Country, knowing it to be the beſt argument to perſwade their ſtay, and if it pleaſe them to ſend up any one of the Engliſh to view it, he would leave ſufficient pledges for his ſafe returne. Maſter *Leake*, Maſter *Moleneux* and others offering themſelves, which when the greater part refuſed (I know not by what reaſon lead) he ſent againe, leaving one of his men ſtill aboard to entreate them to tarry but two dayes, and he himſelfe would come to them, and bring them a ſample of the oare: for he was an exceeding old man, when I was firſt in the Country ſome twenty foure yeares ſince,

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which being alſo neglected, and the Ships under ſaile; he notwithſtanding ſent a Boat after them to the very mouth of the River in hope to perſwade them: that this is true, witneſſe Captaine *Parker*, Captaine *Leake*, Maſter *Streſham*, Maſter *Maudit*, Maſter *Moleneux*, Maſter *Robert Hamon*, Maſter *Nicholes*, Captaine *King*, *Peter Andrews*, and I know not how many others; but beſides his offer alſo, there hath not been wanting an argument though a fooliſh one; which was that the Spaniards, had employed the Indians with a purpoſe to betray our men, but this treaſon had been eaſily prevented, if they had ſtayed the old mans comming; who would have brought them the Gold oare aboarde their Ships, and what purpoſe could there be of treaſon when the Guianians offered to leave pledges ſix for one, yea one of the Indians which the Engliſh had aboarde them, whom they found

found in fetters when they tooke the towne of St. *Thome* could have told them, that the Caſſique which ſent unto them to ſhew them the Gold Myne in his Country, was unconquered; and are enemies to the Spaniard, and could alſo have aſſured them, that this Caſſique had Gold Mynes in his Country.

I ſay then, that if they would neither force *Keymis* to goe to the Myne, when he was by his owne confeſſion, within two houres march of it; to examine from whence theſe two Ingots of Gold which they brought me, were taken, which they found laid by for Kings *quinto* or fifth part; or thoſe ſmall pieces of Silver, which had the ſame marks and ſtamps; if they refuſed to ſend any one of the Fleete into the Country to ſee the Mynes which the Caſſique *Carapana* offered them; if they would not vouchſafe to ſtay two days for the comming

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of *Carapana* himſelfe, who would have brought them a ſample of the Gold oare, I ſay, that, there is no reaſon to lay it to my charge, that I carryed them with a pretence of Gold, when neither *Keymis* nor my ſelfe knew of any in thoſe parts: if it had bin to have gotten my liberty, why did I not keep my liberty when I had it, Nay why did I put my life in manifeſt peril to forgo it? if I had had a purpoſe to have turned Pyrate, why did I oppoſe my ſelf againſt the greateſt number of my Company, and was there by in danger to be ſlaine or caſt into the Sea becauſe I refuſed it?

A ſtrange fancy had it been in me to have perſwaded my Sonne whom I have loſt, and to have perſwaded my Wife to have adventured the 8000.l. which his Majeſty gave them for *Sherborne*, and when that was ſpent, to perſwade my Wife to ſell her houſe at *Micham*, in hope of inriching them by

the Mynes of *Guiana*; if I my ſelf had not ſeene them with my owne eyes; for being old and weakely, thirty years in priſon, and not uſed to the ayre to travell and to watching, it being ten to one that I ſhould ever have returned, and to which by reaſon of my violent ſickneſſe, and the long continuance thereof, no man had any hope, what madneſſe could have made me undertake this journey but the aſſurance of the Myne, thereby to have done his Majeſtie ſervice, to have bettered my Country by the trade, and to have reſtored my Wife and Children their Srates; they had loſt for that, I have refuſed all orher ways or means, for rhat I had a purpoſe to have changed my Maſter, and my Country, my returne in the ſtate I did returne may ſatisfie every honeſt and indifferent man.

An unfortunate man I am, and it is to me a greater loſſe then all I have loſt,

loſt, that it pleaſeth his Majeſtie to be offended for the burning of a Spaniſh towne in *Guiana*; of which theſe parts bordering the River *Orrenoque*, and to the South as farre as the Amazones doth by the Law of Narions belong to the Crowne of *England*, as his Majeſtie was well reſolved when I prepared to goe thither, otherwiſe his Majeſty would not have given once leave to have landed there; for I ſet it downe under my hand that I intended that enterpriſe and nothing elſe, and that I meant to enter the Country by the River of *Orrenoque*; It was not held to be a breach of peace neither by the State here nor the Spaniſh Ambaſſadour who knew it aſwell as I, that I pretended the journy of *Guiana* which he alwaies held to be a pretence; for he ſaid it to Maſter Secretary *Windode* and to others of my Lords; that if I meant to ſayle to *Guiana*, and had no intent to invade any part of his Majeſties

Weſt Indies nor his Fleets, I ſhould not need to ſtrengthen my ſelfe as I did, for I ſhould worke any Myne there, without any diſturbance and in peace, to which I made anſwer, that I had ſet it under my hand to his Majeſt. that I had no other purpoſe, nor meant to undertake any thing elſe; but for the reſt, that Sir *John Haukins* in his journey, to St. *John de Loa*, notwithſtanding that he had leave of the Spaniſh King to trade in all parts of the Weſt Indies, and having the Plate Fleete in his power, did not take out of it one ounce of Silver, but kept his faith and promiſe in all places, was ſet upon by *Don Henrico de Martines* whom he ſuffered (to ſave him from periſhing) to enter the Porte; upon *Martins* faith, and enterchanged pledges delivered, he had *Jeſus* of *Lubeck* a Ship of her Majeſties of a 1000 tun burnt; had his men ſlain which hee left on the Land; loſt his Ordnance, and all the treaſure which he

he had got by Trade; what reaſon had I to goe unarmed upon the Ambaſſadours promiſes, whoſe words and thoughts that they were one, it hath wel appeared ſince then, aſwell by the forces which he perſwaded his Maſter to ſend to *Guiana* to encounter me, and cut me off there; as by his perſecuting of me ſince my returne; who have neither invaded his Maſters Indies, nor his Fleet, whereof he ſtood in doubt.

True it is, that the Spaniards cannot endure that the Engliſh Nation ſhould looke upon any part of *America*, being above a fourth part of the whole knowne world; and the hundred part neither poſſeſſed by the Spaniards, nor to them knowne, as *Acoſta* the Jeſuit in his deſcription of the Weſt Indies doth confeſſe, and well know to be true: No though the King of *Spaine* can pretend no other title to all that he hath not conquered, then the Popes donation; for from the

straits of *Megellan* to the river of *Plate*, being a greater territory then al that the Spaniards posseſſe in *Peru* or *Chile*, and from *Cape* St. *Auguſtines* to *Trinidado* being a greater extent of Land then all which he poſſeſſes in *Nova Spaine*, or elſewhere, they have not one foote of ground in their poſſeſſion, neither for the greateſt part of it ſo much as in their owne knowledge.

In *Orrenoque* they have lately ſet up a Wooden Towne, and made a kind of a Forte, but they have never been able either to Conquer the Guianians; nor to reconcile them, but the Guianians before their planting, they did willingly reſigne all that territory to her Majeſty, who by me promiſed to receive them, and defend them againſt the Spaniards; and though I were a Priſoner for this laſt fourteene years, yet I was at the charge every yeare, or every ſecond yeare, to ſend unto them to keepe them in hope of being relieved.

ved. And as I have ſaid before the greateſt of the naturall Lords, did offer us a rich Myne of Gold in his owne Country in hope to hold us there; And if this uſurped poſſeſſion of the Spaniards be a ſufficient bar to his Majeſties right; and that thereby the King of *Spaine* calls himſelfe King of *Guiana*, why might he not aſwell call himſelfe Duke of *Brittaine*, becauſe hee tooke poſſeſſion of *Blewett*, and built a Forte there; and calls himſelfe King of *Ireland*; becauſe he tooke poſſeſſion at *Smerike* and built a Forte there.

If the Ambaſſadour had proteſted to his Majeſty that my going to *Guiana* before I went would be a breach to the peace, I am perſwaded that his Majeſty if he had not bin reſolved that *Guiana* had been his would have ſtayed me, but if it be not thought to be a breach of Peace not for the going thither (for that cannot be) becauſe I had no other intent, and went with leave;

but for taking and burning of a Spaniſh towne in the Country, certainly, if the Country be the King of *Spains*, it had been no leſſe a breach of Peace to have wrought any Myne of his, and to have rob'd him of his Gold; then it is now cald'd a breach of peace to take a towne of his in *Guiana* and burne it, and with as good reaſon might I have bin called a thieſe and a robber of the King of *Spaine*, if the Country be not his Majeſties, as I am now purſued for the Invaſion; for either the Country is the King of *Spains* or not the Kings; if it be the Kings, I have not then offended; if it be not the Kings, I muſt have periſhed, if I had but taken Gold out of the Mynes there, though I had found no Spaniards in the Country.

For concluſion, if we had had any peace with the Spaniards in thoſe parts of the world; why did even thoſe Spaniards, which were now encountered in

in *Guiana*, tye ſix and thirty Engliſh men out of Maſter *Walls* Ship of *London* and mine back to back, and cut their throats, after they had traded with them a whole month, and came to them a ſhore; having not ſo much as a ſword, or any other weapon, among them all, and if the Spaniards to our complaints made anſwer, that there was nothing in the treate againſt our trading in the Indies, but that we might trade at our perill; I truſt in God that the word perill ſhall ever be conſtrued to be indifferent to both Nations; otherwiſe we muſt for ever abandon the Indies, and looſe all our knowledge, and our Pylotage of that part of the world: if we have no other peace then this; how can there be a breach of peace, which e're the Spaniards with all Nations, and all Nations with them may trade upon their guard?

The readieſt way that the Spaniards

ards Ambaſſadour could have taken, to have ſtayed me from going to *Guiana*; had bin to have diſcovered the great practiſes which I had with his Maſter againſt the King my Soveraigne Lord in the firſt yeare of his Majeſties Reigne of Great *Brittaine*, for which I loſt my eſtate and lay thirteene years in the Tower of *London*, and not to urge my offences in *Guiana*; to which his Maſter hath no title other then his ſword, is with which to this day, he hath not conquered the leaſt of theſe Nations, and againſt whom contrary to the Catholick profeſſion, his Captains have entertained, and doe entertaine whole Nations of Canniballs; for in a Letter of the Governours to the King of *Spaine* of the eighth of *July*: he not only complaineth that the *Guianians* are in Armes againſt him, but that ever thoſe Indians which under their noſes live, doe in deſpight of all the Kings edicts

trade

trade with *Los Flamnicos & Engleſes, enemicos*, With the Flemiſh, and Engliſh enemies, never once naming the Engliſh Nations but with the Epitheton of an enemy.

But in truth the Spaniſh Ambaſſadour hath complained againſt me to no other end, then to prevent my complaints againſt the Spaniards. Who landing my men in a territory appertaining to the Crowne of *England*; they were invaded and ſlaine before any violence offered to the Spaniards; and I hope that the Ambaſſadour doth not eſteeme us for ſo wretched and miſerable a people, as to offer our throats to their ſwords without any manner of reſiſtance; howſoever, I have ſaid it already, and I will ſay it againe; that if *Guiana* be not his Majeſties, the working of a Myne there; and the taking of a towne there; had been equally perillous, for by doing the one, I had rob'd the King of *Spaine* and

and bin a thiefe; and by the other a disturber or breaker of the peace.

A Letter of Sir WALTER RAWLEIGH *to my Lord* Carevv *touching* Guiana.

BEcause I know not whether I shall live, to come before the Lords, I have for his Majesties satisfaction here set downe as much as I can say, either for mine owne defence, or against my selfe, as things are now construed.

It is true, that though I acquainted his Majesty with my intent to Land in *Guiana*, yet I never made it knowne to his Majesty that the Spaniards had any footing there; neither had I any authority by Patent, to remove them from thence, and therefore his Majesty had no interest in the attempt of Saint *Thome* by any foreknowledge in his Majesty. But

But knowing his Majeſties title to the Country to be beſt, and moſt Chriſtian, becauſe the naturall Lords did moſt willingly acknowledge Queene *Elizabeth* to be their Soveraigne, who by me promiſed to defend them from the Spaniſh cruelty, I made no doubt but I might enter the Land by force, ſeeing the Spaniards had no other title but force, (the Popes donation excepted) conſidering alſo that they had got a poſſeſſion there divers yeares ſince my poſſeſſion for the Crowne of *England*, for were not *Guiana* his Majeſties, then might I aſwell have bin queſtioned for a thiefe, for taking the Gold out of the King of *Spains* Mynes, as the Spaniards doe now call me a peace breaker; for, from any territory that belongs to the King of *Spaine*, it is no more lawfull to take Gold, then lawfull for the Spaniards to take Tinne out of *Cornewall*, were this poſſeſſion of theirs a ſufficient Bar to his

his Majesties Right, the Kings of *Spain* may as well call themselves Dukes of *Brittaine*, because they held *Blewet*, and fortified there; and Kings of *Ireland* because they possessed *Smereck* and fortified there, and so in other places.

That his Majesty was well resolved of his right there, I make no kind of doubt, because the English both under Master *Charls Leigh* and Master *Harecourt* had leave to plant and inhabite the Country.

The *Orrenoque* it selfe, had long ere this had 5000. English in it, I assure my selfe, had not my employment at *Cales*, the next yeare after my returne from *Guiana*, and after that our journy to the Islands hindered me, for those two years after with *Tirones* Rebellion, made her Majesty unwilling that any great number of Ships or men should be taken out of *England*, till that rebellion were ended, and lastly, her Majesties death, my long imprison-

ment

ment gave time to the Spaniards to ſet up a towne of ſticks covered with leaves of trees upon the banke of *Orronoque*, which they call St. *Thome*, but they have neither reconciled nor Conquered any of the Caſſiques or naturall Lords of the Country, which Caſſiques are ſtill in armes againſt them, as by the Governours Letter to the King of *Spaine*, may appeare: That by landing in *Guiana* there can be any breach of peace, I thinke it (under favour) impoſſible, for to breake peace where there is no peace, it cannot be; that the Spaniards give us no peace there, it doth appeare by the Kings Letters to the Governour, that they ſhould put to death all thoſe Spaniards and Indians that trade, *Con los Engleſes Enemigos* with Engliſh enemies: yea thoſe very Spaniards which we encountred at St. *Thome*, did of late years murther ſix and thirty of Maſter *Hales* men of *London*, and mine, who landed

landed without weapon, upon the Spaniards faith to trade with them, Maſter *Thorne* alſo in *Tower-ſtreet* in *London* beſides many other Engliſh were in like ſort murthered in *Orrenoque*, the yeare before my deliverie out of the *Tower*.

Now if this kind of trade be peaceable, there is then a peaceable trade in the Indies, betweene us and the Spaniards, but if this be cruell Warre and hatred, and no peace, then there is no peace broken by our attempt; Againe, how doth it ſtand with the greatneſſe of the King of *Spaine*, firſt to call us enemies, when he did hope to cut us in pieces, and then having failed, to call us peace breakers: for to be an enemy and a peace breaker in one and the ſame action is impoſſible.

But the King of *Spaine* in his Letters to the Governour of *Guiana*, dated at *Madrill* the 29 of *March*, before we left the *Thames*, calls us *Engleſes enemigos*

migos, Engliſh enemies.

If it had pleaſed the King of *Spaine* to have written to his Majeſt. in ſeaven months time, for we were ſo long in preparing, and have made his Majeſty know, that our landing in *Guiana* would draw after it a breach of peace, I preſume to thinke, that his Majeſty would have ſtaied our enterpriſe for the preſent.

This he might have done with leſſe charge, then to leavy three hundred ſouldiers and tranſport ten pieces of Ordnance from *Portarico*, which ſouldiers added to the Garriſon of St. *Thome*: had they arrived before our comming, had overthrowne all our raw companies, and there would have followed no complaints.

For the maine point of landing neer St. *Thome*, it is true, that we were of opinion, that we muſt have driven the Spaniards out of the towne, before we could paſſe the thick woods upon the

mountaines of the Myne, which I confesse I did first resolve upon, but better bethinking my selfe, I reserved the taking of the towne, to the goodnesse of the Myne, which if they found to be so rich, as it might perswade the leaving of the Garrison, then to drive the Spaniards thence, but to have burnt was never my intent, neither could they give me any reason why they did it, upon their returne I examined the Serjeant-Major and *Keymis* why they followed not my last directions for the triall of the Myne before the taking of the towne, and they answered me, that although they durst hardly, goe to the Myne leaving a Garrison of Spaniards, between them and their Boats, yet they offended their latter directions, and did Land, betweene the towne and the Myne.

And that the Spaniards without any manner of parley set upon them unawares, and charged them, calling them

Perros

Perros Ingleſes, & by Skirmiſhing with them, they drew them on to the very entrance of the town before they knew where they were, ſo that if any peace had bin in thoſe parts, the Spaniards firſt brake the peace, and made the firſt ſlaughter, for as the Engliſh could not but Land to ſeeke the Myne, being come thither to that end, ſo being firſt reviled, and charged by the Spaniards, they could doe no leſſe then repell force by force; laſtly it is a matter of no ſmall conſequence to acknowledge that wee have offended the King of *Spaine* by landing in *Guiana*.

For firſt it weakens his Majeſties title to the Country or quits it; Secondly, there is no King that hath ever given the leaſt way to any other King or State in the traffick of the lives or goods of his Subjects, to wit in our caſe, that it ſhall be lawfull for the Spaniards to murther us, either by force or treaſon, and unlawfull for us to

defend our ſelves and pay them with their owne Coyne, for this ſuperiority and inferiority is a thing which no abſolute Monarch ever yeilded to, or ever will.

Thirdly, it ſhews the Engliſh bears greater reſpect to the Spaniard, and is more doubtfull of his forces, then either the French or Dutch is, who daily invade all parts of the Indies with not being queſtioned at their returne, yea at my owne being at *Plimouth*, a French Gentleman called *Flory* went thence with foure ſaile, and three hundred Land men, with Commiſſion to land and burne, and to ſack all places in the Indies that he could maſter, and yet the French King hath married the daughter of *Spaine*.

This is all that I can ſay, other then that I have ſpent my poore eſtate, loſt my ſonne, and my health, and endured as many ſorts of miſeries, as eve man did, in hope to do his Majeſty ac-

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ceptable ſervice; And have not to my underſtanding committed any hoſtile act, other then entrance upon a territory belonging rightly to the Crowne of *England*, where the Engliſh were firſt ſet upon and ſlaine by the uſurping Spaniards, I invaded no other parts of the Indies, pretended by the Spaniards.

I returned into *England* with manifeſt perill of my life, with a purpoſe not to hold my life, with any other then his Majeſties grace, and from which no man, nor any perill could diſſwade me; To that grace, and goodneſſe, and Kinglyneſſe I referre my ſelf, which if it ſhall find that I have not yet ſuffered enough, it yet may pleaſe to adde more affliction to the remainder of a wretched life.

Sir *Walter Rawleigh* his Answer to some things at his Death.

I did never receive any direction from my Lord Carew *to make any escape, nor did I ever tell* Stukely *any such thing. I did never name my Lord* Hay *and my Lord* Carew *to* Stukeley *in other words or sence, then to my honourable friends, among other Lords. I did never shew unto* Stukely *any Letter, wherein there was* 10000 *named or any one pound, only I told him, that I hoped to procure the payment of his debts in his absence. I never had Commission from the French King, I never saw the French Kings hand or seale in my life. I never had any plot or practise with the French directly or indirectly, nor with any other Prince or State unknowne to the King. My true intent was to goe to a Myne of Gold in* Guiana

Guiana, *it was not fained, but it is true, that such a Myne there is within three miles of* St. Thome, *I never had in my thought to goe from* Trinidado, *and leave my Companies to come after to the savage Island, as* Hatby Fearne *hath falsly reported. I did not carry with me an hundred pieces, I had with me sixty, and brought back neer the said number, I never spake to the French* Manering *any one disloyall word, or dishonourable speech of the King; nay if I had not loved the King truly, and trusted in his goodnesse somewhat too much, I know that I had not now suffered death.*

These things are most true as there is a God, and as I am now to appeare before his tribunall seate, where I renounce all mercy, and salvation, if this be not the truth. At my death

W.R.

FINIS.